

U.S. Asks Release of Noriega

Vatican Refuge
'Inappropriate,'
Washington Says

By Larry Rohter
New York Times Service
PANAMA CITY — The diplomatic impasse over the fate of General Manuel Antonio Noriega continued Tuesday as businesses and government offices here opened and other normal activities resumed for the first time since the U.S. intervention a week ago.

U.S. troops continued to surround the residence of the papal nuncio, where General Noriega took shelter Sunday. Bush administration officials have told the Vatican that it would be "totally inappropriate" for the Holy See to

The appeal for asylum sparks a legal debate. Page 3.

grant General Noriega refuge in Panama City and suggested that the best solution would be simply to walk him to the door.

Panamanian and foreign officials said that negotiations over a request by General Noriega for eventual asylum in Cuba were being handled here and "in several other capitals."

U.S. officials said Michael Kojak, a State Department legal expert who helped negotiate the Panama Canal treaties and last year took part in discussions about General Noriega relinquishing power peacefully, is in Panama, but declined to provide further details about his activities.

The Italian news agency ANSA said from Rome that the U.S. ambassador to the Holy See, Thomas Miley, was received Tuesday by the Vatican secretary of state, Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, apparently to discuss the situation, United Press International reported.

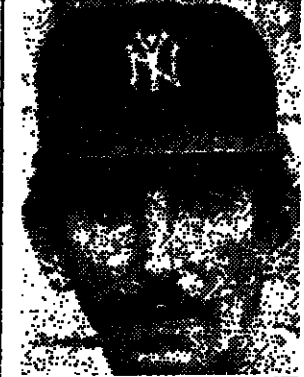
In Washington, the White House spokesman, Martin Fitzwater, declined to rule out the possibility that some option other than General Noriega's return to the United States might be under consideration. The Associated Press reported. He said that although President George Bush had not directly communicated with Vatican officials on the subject, "we told them very directly what our feelings were."

Defense Secretary Dick Cheney said Tuesday that the United States had not yet considered whether it would allow safe passage for General Noriega out of Panama, Reuters said. PANAMA, Page 2

Kiosk Forum Rejects Role as Party

BERLIN (AP) — New Forum, East Germany's largest opposition group, said Tuesday it will remain a broad political movement but will not constitute itself into a formal political party.

The group, which claims 200,000 members, said its candidates would run in free elections set for May. "We will remain the only broad citizens' movement," said a statement issued by New Forum's national council and signed by Jens Reich, one of the group's co-founders.



Billy Martin, five-time baseball manager of the New York Yankees, died in a car accident. Page 14.

General News

Archbishop Desmond Tutu backed a tough application of economic sanctions. Page 2.

Business/Finance

The OECD asked Japan to bring living standards in line with its financial clout. Page 9.

Crossword Page 7.

Dow Jones	The Dollar
2,709.26	DM 1.999
Down	Pound 1.627
2.13	Yen 141.895
	FF 5.803



The deposed Romanian president, Nicolae Ceausescu, shown before his execution on a videotape released Tuesday in Bucharest.

A Parting Taunt: 'Shoot Us if You Like'

By Blaine Harden

Washington Post Service

BUCHAREST — The body of Nicolae Ceausescu, slumped next to the bullet-pocked wall of a military barracks, his eyes open and his head lying in a pool of blood, was shown on Romanian television Tuesday, as was the trial at which he and his wife were convicted.

"You can shoot us if you like but we do not recognize you as a court," Mr. Ceausescu, 71, was said to have declared in his final hours. In the tape of the trial itself, transmitted late Tuesday evening on Romanian television, Mr. Ceausescu appeared drawn but un-

remorseful. Seated with his wife at two plain tables, he gesticulated vigorously but refused to answer questions from his judges, who were not shown on camera.

"I am president of the republic of Romania and commander in chief of the armed forces," he said repeatedly in a hoarse voice, "and you are only simple citizens." He said he would respond only to the parliament or to "the people of Romania."

Mrs. Ceausescu, wearing a heavy winter coat like her husband, made only brief comments, seconding his refusal to reply. Occasionally, Mr. Ceausescu appeared to try to

silence his wife, brushing her arm when she spoke.

The new prime minister, Petre Roman, said that it may have been a mistake for the government to have executed the Ceausescus so quickly. But he said he was under pressure from the army, which feared that a drawn-out trial of the couple might trigger long-term resistance from the Securitate, the elite force created by Mr. Ceausescu to preserve his power.

"Perhaps it was a mistake, but it is too early to judge now," Mr. Roman said. "There were pressures," he said, adding, See EXECUTE, Page 6

Tensions Are Evident As Romanians Form Interim Government

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BUCHAREST — Romania's National Salvation Committee named a provisional government headed by President Ion Iliescu on Tuesday as the first signs of tensions surfaced in the popular alliance that overthrew Nicolae Ceausescu.

Announcing the new government, formed the day after Mr. Ceausescu and his wife were executed by firing squad, the committee named Dumitru Mazilu as vice president, Petre Roman as prime minister and General Nicolae Militaru as defense minister.

It said that Mr. Roman would serve until April, when free elections are due to be held.

As the government was announced, protesters poured into Palace Square in front of party headquarters to proclaim their hatred of communism, in whose name Mr. Ceausescu ruled for 24 years until his overthrow on Friday, and fledgling political parties began voicing discontent.

"No more communism — down with the Communist Party," the crowd on Palace Square chanted, demanding that members of the new government address them. Mr. Iliescu, 59, is a Communist.

Interviewed by the Soviet news agency Tass, Mr. Roman said Tuesday that Mr. Ceausescu's rule had completely discredited the Romanian Communist Party.

"It's hard to talk about its future," said the new prime minister, a 43-year-old professor of hydraulic engineering with no political background. "This is a very sad fact. I don't know if it can survive." He pledged that the National Salvation Committee would "implement the concept of pluralism, irrespective of the party structure."

Hungarian radio said Tuesday that there were "signs of anarchy" in the new Romanian leadership.

"So far, the government in Bucharest has been incapable of announcing any political and military program," the radio said. It said that Romanian television had not adapted its style to the new era and

On Page 6

The new Romanian leader had once been close to Ceausescu and is a longtime friend of Gorbachev's.

More nations recognize the new leadership, but some criticize it.

The Red Cross says that Bucharest no longer needs urgent aid but that conditions in the north are unclear.

was thereby "losing any power to fire the people with enthusiasm."

The newly proclaimed Romanian Democratic Party, formed Monday, said that demonstrations were its only means of placing its program before the people.

"The army did not let us go on television on Monday to speak to the people," said Bogdan Lepadat, a member of the Democratic Party leadership.

On Tuesday afternoon a bellowing crowd in Palace Square forced the National Salvation Committee, at least nominally in control of the army, to give the new party access to the airwaves. A party official read its platform and invited all Romanians to join.

The Democratic Party leader, Viorel Craciun, said earlier that the new organization would smash the hold of the Communists.

"We are the people who fought here," said Mr. Craciun, standing on the blood-stained second story of the Communist Party headquarters. "We don't want to change only Ceausescu."

The chief plank of the Democratic Party's platform is abolition

of the constitutional guarantee of the Communist leadership role. Other provisions include free trade unions and creation of a multiparty system ahead of the April elections. The National Christian Peasant Party also announced its formation Tuesday, calling for "moral rehabilitation on a Christian and peasant foundation, which for 2,000 years proved to be the Romanian nation's backbone."

Relations between the populace and the army, which last week crushed protesters with tanks and guns before turning on Mr. Ceausescu, are also uncertain.

One wing of the Communist Party headquarters, stormed by angry crowds on Friday, remains in the control of the civilian militia.

"We will stay here as long as we have to," said Gheorghe Domitrascu, running operations from a former deputy prime minister's office. "We are not so certain about the army."

Catalin Tudose, speaking with an automatic weapon from the Communist Party's storehouse slung across one shoulder, said that the militia was prepared to defend the budding political parties.

"The people are now worried about the army, that they may try to take power," he said. "Before everyone just wanted to get rid of the old powers and make sure they did not come back."

An uncertain calm prevailed in Bucharest on Tuesday with no shooting to be heard for the first time in days and, according to the radio and Romanian sources, Ceausescu loyalist forces were surrendering en masse.

Sporadic fighting in central Bucharest had continued late into Monday night, driving many people from the streets.

After sporadic firing overnight, the situation in the western city of See ROMANIA, Page 6

Last Bulwark of Communism?

As Eastern Europe Rebels, Gorbachev Declares His Faith

By Francis X. Clines

New York Times Service

MOSCOW — As East European communism relentlessly collapses, President Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the man whose policies of reconstruction are presumed by many to have inspired the wave of popular rebellions, has been declining lately like the last Communist on earth.

"I am a Communist, a convinced Communist," he told the Soviet Congress of People's Deputies, the expanded Soviet legislature, a few days ago in an impassioned speech. "For some that may be a fantasy. But for me it is my main goal."

At the time, Mr. Gorbachev was ostensibly speaking of the domestic challenge he is facing from the three Soviet Baltic republics, which are resolutely proceeding on a separatist path.

But despite his words, the Soviet leader has had to make an art form of accommodation lately.

He has hailed the right of each of what used to be called the Soviet satellite nations to shape a distinctive multiparty future after the de facto seizure of that right, while angrily denying a similar extent of self-determination and pluralism to the Baltics and other nationalist movements within his own borders. In his most emotional statement of a personal political creed, deliv-

ered Saturday in an arm-waving, finger-pointing monologue to the mute Congress, Mr. Gorbachev presented a fascinating mix of warning and gloom, again denying the constitutional right of secession guaranteed to the Soviet republics. "I am convinced," he declared, "that nowadays to exercise self-

NEWS ANALYSIS

termination through secession is to blow apart the union, to pit peoples against one another and to sow discord, bloodshed and death."

As he works to adjust to the breathtaking turn of events in Eastern Europe, Mr. Gorbachev more and more has been focusing his frustrations on a relatively innocuous domestic target, the nebulous opposition caucus in the Congress.

This caucus, the Inter-Regional Group, has only 400 deputies at best out of the 2,250-member Congress, and it failed in its most recent attempt to initiate a debate over ending the Communist Party's monopoly on politics and government.

But even after a clearly imperious disposal of this challenge, Mr. Gorbachev still has several times felt the need to belittle this unofficial opposition, an opposition that paradoxically supplies the one bit of pity, if limited, substantiation to his constant claim that there is

already sufficient pluralism under his liberalization program.

"Enough," he snapped at a dissenting deputy who sought Saturday to resurrect the issue of the party's monopoly. "We know well whose motive, whose tune this is," Mr. Gorbachev fairly sneered.

"This is relevant," the deputy, Valentin I. Karasyov, attempted to continue, and as the Gorbachevian majority resorted to handclaps of disapproval, he objected. "It's for the people to applaud. Doesn't Romania teach us anything?"

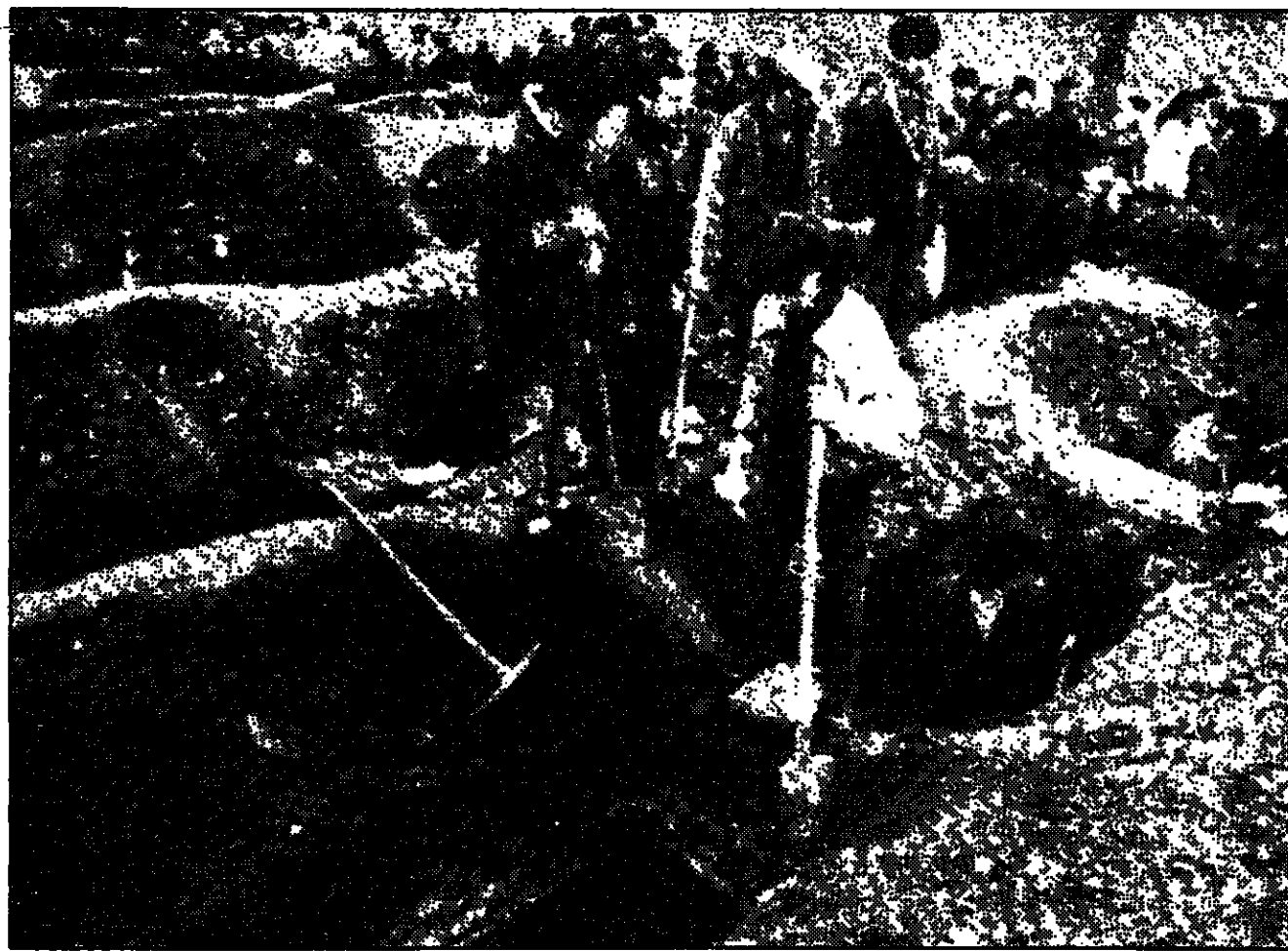
"O.K., enough," Mr. Gorbachev countered, waving him from the microphone. "You will get many thanks at the closed session tonight of the Inter-Regional Group."

"I'll be very proud," Mr. Karasyov replied in retreat. "Good for you, be proud," said the Soviet leader, who remained so nettled through his ensuing monologue on his commitment to communism that one of his aides had to caution him to calm down.

As the figure who has steered the Soviet Union in a radical about-face toward demilitarization and

See SOVIET, Page 2

Gorbachev refuses to recognize a decision by the Lithuanian party to break with Moscow. Page 2.



Residents of Bucharest digging a cemetery for victims of the Romanian uprising as an uneasy calm settled over the capital on Tuesday.

Anxious Asians View East Europe as Rival for Western Input

By Michael Richardson

International Herald Tribune

SINGAPORE — Fears of declining Western interest in Asia have been sharpened by the collapse of most of the Communist regimes in Europe, prompting concern that Japan will become even more dominant in the region.

Asian officials and analysts said that the EC and the United States seemed certain to devote more resources to Eastern Europe to help consolidate political and economic changes there.

That, some Asians say, could come at the expense of a substantial Western stake in the security and economy of East Asia, which helps balance the growing financial, trade and investment ties that the region has with Japan.

"Eurocentrism of some of the key economic powers will get stronger as the Soviet empire in Eastern Europe disintegrates," said Noordin Sopiee, director-general of Institute of Strategic and International Studies in Malaysia.

As Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Romania open up after decades of state control, officials and analysts say that the attention of Western policymakers — and the funds of governments and private corporations — will be drawn away from East Asia.

The pace of economic growth in the

region, although far greater than the world average, is slowing.

The future is clouded by political instability in China and the Philippines, labor problems in South Korea and Taiwan, large-scale emigration of skilled labor and capital from Hong Kong and infrastructure bottlenecks in Thailand.

"We're not sure whether the EC will maintain their interests in the Far East," said Lee Hsien Loong, Singapore's trade and industry minister.

"We hope so, but if they don't I think it will be a more difficult environment for us."

Other Asian officials said they were apprehensive about reports that a Defense Department review had concluded that the United States could make major reductions in its military presence in South Korea and could afford to lose forward bases in the Philippines.

The review of U.S. troop strength in the Pacific was prompted by a perceived reduction in the Soviet military threat, the transformations in Eastern Europe and U.S. budget constraints.

But officials cautioned that if U.S. forces in the region were to be reduced too quickly, countries such as Japan and China might be prompted to compete for regional military supremacy — which would cause profound alarm in other Asian countries.

Some observers fear that if trade ten-

sions between Tokyo and Washington intensify as the credibility of the U.S.-Japan security treaty is eroded by U.S. troop withdrawals, Tokyo might be tempted to project military power to safeguard maritime trade arteries and investments in East Asia.

Mr. Sopiee noted that by 1993, no less

'Eurocentrism of some of the key economic powers will get stronger as the Soviet empire in Eastern Europe disintegrates.'

Noordin Sopiee, a Malaysian strategic planner

than 25 percent of Japan's total overseas production capacity would be dispersed among the members of the Association of South East Asian Nations — Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

Mr. Lee said that Japan, the United States and the EC were Singapore's top three investors. That is an agreeable bal-

ance, he said, adding: "You don't feel you are in one camp."

But if the European component of foreign investment in Asia dwindled, the relationship between the United States and Japan might become antagonistic, he said.

"The Japanese will feel there is a sphere of influence here in the Asia-Pacific," he said, adding that this "would not be a good strategic situation."

Economic ties between Japan and Eastern Europe are relatively weak, and Japanese businessmen say they see more promising trade and investment opportunities elsewhere, including Asia.

On a visit to Kuala Lumpur earlier this month, Yusuke Kashiwagi, chairman of the Bank of Tokyo, said that Japanese entrepreneurs had a strong interest in continuing to move into ASEAN.

Meanwhile, Danai Tulambala, the Thai ambassador to Belgium, said that Eastern Europe was likely to compete with Southeast Asia for Western investment, trade and tourism.

Eastern Europe can offer investors raw materials and skilled, relatively cheap labor, he said. In many areas, Eastern Europe has the potential to compete against the newly industrialized countries of Asia, particularly in selling to Western Europe, said Robert C. Broadfoot, managing director of a Hong Kong consultancy.

"If the U.S. accords special trading,

privileges to East European countries in an attempt to encourage further economic and political reform," Mr. Broadfoot said, "Taiwan and South Korea could find more competition in their shares of the U.S. market as well."

Tokyo Policy Paper

A Foreign Ministry policy paper says that improvements in East-West relations should not end Japan's military alliance with the United States because other nations do not want an independent armed Japan. The Associated Press reported from Tokyo.

The policy paper, made available Tuesday, also says that Japan should try to build a climate that will help reduce tension on the Korean Peninsula and should work to reduce instability in the Asia-Pacific region by promoting economic development.

It says that Japan should take an active role in the search for peace in Cambodia and try to draw China and Indochina's Communist nations into Asia's "sphere of prosperity."

Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama indicated Tuesday that Japan was likely to resume its economic assistance to China early next year, the Japan Broadcasting Corp. reported.

Japan halted its assistance after China's violent suppression of pro-democracy demonstrations in June.

Samuel Beckett Dies in Paris, Writer Was 83

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

PARIS — Samuel Beckett, the writer who created a world of despair and was awarded a Nobel prize, has died at 83.

The playwright, poet and novelist whose work depicted death and decay as mankind's sole and inescapable destiny was buried Tuesday in a private ceremony. He died of respiratory failure in a Paris hospital on Friday.

He was reported ill last week, but friends and associates refused to comment on the grounds that Mr. Beckett had always avoided publicity.

A spokeswoman at Montparnasse Cemetery said that Tuesday's ceremony, attended by a score of people, was brief and simple — no priest and no speeches. "His friends asked for the utmost discretion," she said.

Jack Lang, the French culture minister, called Mr. Beckett "an immense writer, exceptionally exacting, who has profoundly marked his century." (Page 3.) (AP, Reuters)

Asylum Dilemma Debated

Experts Question Noriega's Rights

By Philip Shabecoff

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Citing policies that had traditionally been pursued in the United States, legal experts questioned whether the deposed Panamanian leader, General Manuel Antonio Noriega, was entitled to sanctuary or asylum in the Vatican Embassy in Panama City.

The United States recognizes the right of asylum in cases where those seeking refuge can show a "well-founded fear of persecution."

But General Noriega "would not be entitled to asylum because he was clearly a persecutor, not a persecuted," said Randy L. Levine, an associate deputy attorney general from 1986 to 1988.

"If this were the United States, he would be denied asylum," Mr. Levine said.

A Justice Department spokesman, David Runkel, said that General Noriega "does not have a well-founded fear of persecution, but he does have a well-founded fear of prosecution in the United States."

General Noriega has been indicted in Florida on charges of shipping cocaine and marijuana to the United States and laundering money through Colombian drug dealers.

Mr. Runkel said the United States recognized that the Papal Nunciature, as the embassy is called, was legally a territory of the Vatican and that any activity concerning General Noriega "would take that into account."

The legal experts say there is no broadly accepted international statute or code governing the right of asylum. While several conventions have been drafted to regulate the granting of political sanctuary on humanitarian grounds, none has been ratified. Accordingly, individual nations devise their own rules and practices.

Mr. Levine said that General Noriega could be arrested by either the United States or Panama as soon as he stepped outside the grounds of the papal mission. But if Panama takes the general into custody, it has no legal obligation to send him to the United States because there is no extradition treaty between the two nations.

On several occasions, the United States has granted refugees in its embassy to foreign nationals. The U.S. Embassy in Beijing is now sheltering China's most prominent dissidents, Fang Lizhi, and his wife, Li Shujuan.

An administration official said Monday that the Vatican told Washington that it did not grant asylum outside its territory. But the Vatican said that it did grant "temporary refuge" to individuals claiming political or religious persecution.



The chief of the U.S. Southern Command, General Maxwell Thurman, tipping his cap as he greets a Vatican representative outside the papal mission in Panama City, where the deposed Panamanian leader, General Manuel Antonio Noriega, is seeking political asylum.

U.S. Aid to Panama Starts to Arrive

Los Angeles Times Service

WASHINGTON — With the fighting in Panama City subsiding, U.S. government and relief agencies are shipping planeloads of medical supplies, food and tents for the thousands of Panamanians left injured or homeless during the invasion, officials said.

The threat of hunger and disease remains serious because many people, particularly those living around Panamanian military headquarters devastated by the U.S. forces, lost their homes and possessions in fires that swept the areas.

The Defense Department, coordinating U.S. aid in the country, is "currently obtaining enough food for 50,000 people for up to 30 days," a State Department official said Monday.

Officials said the U.S. government would provide financial assistance to help rebuild destroyed neighborhoods, but that it was not clear how many people would help and how the assistance effort would help. Planning for the operation was to begin this week.

In the meantime, a Defense Department spokesman said, the Military Airlift Command was delivering coats, tents and medical supplies.

A spokeswoman for the American Red Cross said the agency was sending two planes containing five tons of medical equipment and medicine, enough to care for 500 people.

The International Committee of the Red Cross has sent three doctors with expertise in emergency care and a group of international delegates who act as human rights observers, the spokeswoman said.

In Costa Rica, Robert Brito, spokesman for the disaster office of the Red Cross there, said the organization was sending five planes to Panama, including two loaded with medicine and food and three to be used to evacuate any of the 4,000 Costa Ricans in Panama who wish to leave the country.

Other humanitarian organizations sending significant relief to Panama included the Miami-based Panama Support Group, which the State Department official said was delivering food and a plane load of medical supplies. Another group, MAP International in Georgia, was also sending medical supplies to Panama.

Representative Samuel Gejdenson, Democrat of Connecticut, a member of the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Western Hemisphere affairs, said an economic reconstruction bill he sponsored should become part of a stepped-up U.S. plan for repairing Panama's financial and commercial institutions.

The bill, introduced in August, proposed providing about \$200 million in economic aid to a post-Noriega democratic government for a range of development and stabilization programs.

The effectiveness of the aid effort is important to the Bush administration and the new Panamanian government as well as to the victims. Prolonged suffering by those who were caught between the U.S. forces and Noriega troops could intensify anti-American sentiment in the country.

Panama City Starts to Rebuild

Rubble Is Cleared, and Residents Return to the Streets

By Al Kamen and Dana Priest

Washington Post Service

PANAMA CITY — The rattle of gunfire and breaking glass yielded to the sounds of brooms and garbage trucks as Panamanians began digging out from the rubble of a week of anarchy and looting sparked by the U.S. intervention.

For the first time since the Dec. 20 intervention that ousted the Panamanian leader, General Manuel Antonio Noriega, the streets were full of residents who felt safe enough to venture out and start rebuilding their lives.

"It's getting back to normal," said Lorenzo A. Rodriguez, who was supervising a dozen men cleaning up trash in a downtown plaza.

Mr. Rodriguez, who works for the municipal Sanitation Department, said there were only a half dozen garbage compactor trucks and seven smaller trucks available to clean the city.

"At first it was hard to find workers, but today many more came," he said Monday.

President Guillermo Endara closed government offices Thursday and Friday during the height of the battles between U.S. troops and Noriega loyalists, but they began reopening Tuesday.

In several parts of the city, the U.S. troops erected checkpoints to search cars for weapons in areas where sniping was reported. Soldiers said they had found a large number of weapons, mostly handguns.

Thousands of Panamanians who fled the fighting last week remained homeless. Many corner food stores displayed signs saying they had no flour, no corn or other staples. At gasoline stations, there were lines and half-hour waits. But there seemed to be no gouging. The price, \$2 a gallon, was the same as it was last week.

The fall of General Noriega's regime and the rise of the Endara government have created headaches at many facilities and agencies in Panama City, where new administrators have taken over.

At the Municipal Social Security Hospital, where a new administrator was appointed a few days ago, regular schedules were ignored and people were working around the clock.

A surgeon at the hospital, Dr. Moises V. Rios, said the most serious problem was the people who

had been on duty with almost no rest since Dec. 20.

Dr. Rios said that the new administrator was a talented surgeon who had once lost a promotion because of his opposition views.

Worried families have gone to hospitals looking for relatives missing since the intervention, and the glass reception office window at the Municipal Social Security Hospital has become a bulletin board for the lists of wounded and dead.

A group of Indians, who had come downtown from their town near Fort Clayton to buy food, said that thousands of Indians in the Chorrillo neighborhood were forced to leave their homes on Dec. 20 when anti-tank missiles and other artillery reduced their homes to rubble.

U.S. officials and supporters of the new government had hoped to open the daily newspaper La Prensa, which was closed and sealed by General Noriega in January 1988, within the next few days, but they found the offices trashed and looted.

Electrical cables had been cut in a way that made it impossible to splice them back together. Every computer and telephone had been stolen and the switchboard was gone.

Despite the difficulties, Panamanians appeared optimistic that their lives would return to normal soon. By week's end, said Luis Muniz, a retiree, "everything should be over."

Cuba Says Envoys Are Hindered by U.S. in Panama

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

UNITED NATIONS, New York — The president of the UN Security Council said Tuesday that he had received complaints that U.S. troops were holding Cuban diplomats in their embassy, and Cuban officials demanded an urgent meeting of the Security Council to discuss the matter.

In Washington, the State Department said that the U.S. forces did "not intend to prevent normal diplomatic activity by Cuban personnel." The State Department said that charges to the contrary were not true. It said that the troops were stationed around the embassy and several other places in Panama for security reasons.

This president of the Security Council, Enrique Penabaz de la Lanza, said that Cuban officials in Panama and elsewhere had called him about the U.S. actions around the embassy. "They say they are virtual prisoners," Mr. Penabaz said.

Cuba has said that it will be willing to grant political asylum to the deposed Panamanian leader, General Manuel Noriega, if he asks for it.

(Reuters, AP)

For Refugees at Stadium, 'Fear Is Over'

By Joanne Omang

Washington Post Service

PANAMA CITY — Sergio Gálvez swung his ample belly with the enthusiasm of a dancer and made a suggestion for dealing with the ousted Panamanian dictator, General Manuel Antonio Noriega: Make a piñata out of him "and give all of us a stick."

That would be about 12,000 sticks to bash General Noriega in Latin America's traditional way of showering gifts on children, for Mr. Gálvez, 28, is the mayor of the estimated 12,000 refugees from the violence of last week's U.S. invasion who are living temporarily, they hope, in the Balboa High School stadium.

Crowded in and around their makeshift tents of towels, blankets and colorful printed sheets on the stadium field, they celebrated Christmas Mass there with Panama's archbishop, Panama's new president, Guillermo Endara, and a contingent of U.S. troops.

"Let this be the start of a process of reconciliation and reconstruction," the Reverend Marcus McGrath told the crowd from atop a stack of newly built picnic tables. "The fear is over. Our problems now are those of rebuilding."

Mr. Endara and his two vice presidents worked the field like the politicians they are, kissing babies and hugging old friends and supporters. "Diego, the republic is yours," Mr. Endara boomed to a startled 2-year-old.

Mr. Gálvez was elected last May 7 to represent the poor neighborhood of Chorrillo in the Endara government that General Noriega refused to let into office. Chorrillo lies in ruins after heavy fighting there, and most of its people are living in the stadium. They voted Mr. Gálvez into office here late last week.

"We've been treated very well," he said. "The only problem was those plastic food packages. We really weren't used to them, but they fixed that, and now we're eating Panamanian food." He meant the U.S. Army's modern C-rations,

now called MREs, Meals Ready to Eat, which troops have distributed by the thousands here in the five days since the invasion. Asked how they like the MREs, several refugees laughed and pretended to gag.

On Sunday, however, as fighting eased and traffic resumed around the city, farmers were able to get food into some neighborhood markets. The refugees ventured out to buy it, and on Monday pots of beans boiled on small cookfires and children munched on bananas while Father McGrath spoke. Three army mobile kitchens were busy preparing T-rations, trays of freeze-dried food boiled and served hot for refugees willing to eat it.

Pedro Valdez, 36, watched the Mass from the sidelines with three of his four children. The middle one wore a Batman T-shirt. "The invasion was like a bomb hit us," Mr. Valdez said. "The fires were terrifying. We can still go to our apartment but there's no light, no power and the streets aren't safe yet, so we're here."

Mr. Valdez said that he and his family were staying in a tent. "We're here because we don't have a house," he said. "We're here because we don't have a house."

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Samuel Beckett, Author of 'Waiting for Godot,' Dies at 83

By Mel Gussow

New York Times Service

SAMUEL BECKETT, the playwright, poet and novelist who received a Nobel prize, died of respiratory failure Friday in Paris, his publisher said Tuesday. Mr. Beckett was buried in a private ceremony Tuesday at the Montparnasse Cemetery. He was 83.

The sun shone, having no alternative, on the nothing new. That spare, superbly cadenced sentence, conveying a belief that life is absurd, formless, harsh and ultimately purposeless, was typical of Mr. Beckett, one of the century's most innovative and influential writers.

The lanky, cadaverous Irishman, an expatriate in Paris who wrote mostly in French, concealed himself from the consequences of his fame, of whose perishability he was certain. Still, he was sought out and enshrined as the spokesman for the philosophy that men live in a murky limbo without the courage to end their lives or the strength to continue them.

His rigorous views were in contrast to the man, for he could show sweetness, kindness and compassion. But the private Beckett counted for less than the one who voiced metaphors of spiritual malaise. Last time, "appeared in all the more remarkable because there were so few of them."

He wrote six novels, four long plays and dozens of shorter ones, a score of stories and narrative fragments, some of which could be considered short novels, a volume of poetry, a critical study of Proust and several slim volumes of fragmentary residue from other work. Yet their exquisite statement on the melancholy of man's estate appealed to — and mirrored — the disillusion and nihilism that prevailed among many Western intellectuals after World War II.

Mr. Beckett emerged from obscurity in the 1950s and '60s. His principal plays, "Waiting for Godot," "Endgame," and "Krapp's Last Tape," appeared in that period, as did his chief novels, "Molloy," "Malone Dies" and "The Unnamable." They generated increasing acclaim as well as, eventually, a large industry of Beckett scholarship and criticism.

Those who admired Mr. Beckett were moved to superlatives. Discussing "Molloy," for example, the literary critic William Barrett wrote, "In this one work, merely on a technical level as adding new dimensions and perspectives to the



Samuel Beckett, a galvanizing force in his century's literature.

novel. Beckett must be ranked — and I weigh my words — along with Kafka and Joyce."

In the theater Mr. Beckett's influence was profound. As an innovator, he was compared to Ibsen and Chekhov. "Endgame" was frequently likened to "King Lear."

His plays, it was said, expressed the inexpressible. His emphasis on reality as unbearable and cryptic inspired Harold Pinter, Edward Albee and Tom Stoppard and a score of lesser playwrights.

"Waiting for Godot," after a desultory reception on Broadway in 1956, has been "absorbed into the very fabric of the mythology, the living imagery, of our epoch," according to Martin Esslin, the British drama critic. "Godot" has played all over the Western world; in book form, it has sold more than 250,000 copies in the United States.

One explanation for such popularity was a widely held conviction that Mr. Beckett had managed in "Godot" and his other plays to shuck the external details of life to disclose a tightly compressed version of existence. Another explanation was that the plays lent themselves to diverse interpretations — while their author steadfastly refused to say for publication in his lifetime what point, message or meaning he sought to make.

To some he was comic, to others bleak. The phrase, "Waiting for

Godot," for example, became a tagline for frustration that derived from a recurring two-line dialogue and stage direction that was also the play's curtain line. It read: "VLADIMIR: Well! Shall we go? ESTRAGON: Yes, let's go. (They do not move.)"

To Mr. Beckett, the meaning of the play was obvious. In an interview for this obituary he said: "When 'Godot' was produced in the United States with Bert Lahr, the play was publicized as fun and games. Lahr, a music-hall type, dominated the play, which is not supposed to have a dominant character and is not supposed to be a vaudeville play."

"On the other hand, when 'Godot' was produced in a German prison and convicted played the role they and the audience understood that 'Godot' is not despair, but hope. 'Godot' is life aimless, but always with an element of hope."

Mr. Beckett's plays grew shorter as he grew older, not, according to Mr. Esslin, "because his imagination is getting poorer, but because his art in compressing his material is increasing." Moreover, his characters seldom uttered more than two or three words at a time, and those were monosyllables.

The terseness of his art was in strong contrast to Mr. Beckett himself, who could be loquacious when the mood was upon him. In conversation, his direct blue eyes peered through steel-rimmed spectacles, his brow wrinkled in concentration.

Although he was generally associated with the dispossessed, Mr. Beckett was not a Bohemian. His typical attire included corduroy trousers, a white shirt, a four-in-hand tie and a gray jacket. His quarters at 38 Boulevard St. Jacques was immaculate; the chairs, for instance, had tubular steel frames. His wife, Suzanne, lived in an adjacent apartment. Visitors could find the flat disturbing for it overlooked a prison exercise yard.

Paris became Mr. Beckett because it permitted him to keep to himself. He had some close friends, of course, but few of them were in the Irish colony.

Mr. Beckett was astringent about Ireland, where he was born April 13, 1906. His father, William, was a Protestant and a surveyor of moderate means. The boy was reared in Foxrock, a Dublin suburb, and was sent to Portora Royal School in County Fermanagh. He was popular there and athletic, playing cricket and rugby football. He was also fascinated by tramps. He made drawings of them.

He went on to Trinity College, Dublin, where he majored in French and Italian. He received his bachelor's degree in 1927 and his master's in 1931. Under an exchange system, meanwhile, he was a lecturer in English from 1928 to 1930 at the Ecole Normale Supérieure in Paris, where he recalled, "I became fond of the French classics and moderns."

His first poem, "Whoroscope," is about eggs, Descartes said time. It is 98 lines long, excluding notes explaining its allusions; it won a prize of £10 from Nancy Cunard, the literary patron, when it was published in 1930, but was otherwise neglected.

Mr. Beckett lectured in French at Trinity for two years, but "decided it was too unpleasant to teach" and resigned "rather abruptly" in December 1931. "I had a big impulse to write," he explained in 1967. "It was writing or nothing."

He lived for a time in the Chelsea section of London and in Paris, where he met James Joyce, wrote an essay about him and worked on a French translation of the "Anna Livia Plurabelle" section of "Finnegans Wake." Mr. Beckett was not, as some accounts have it,

Joyce's secretary, although he did do many chores for his friend. Mr. Beckett's fecundity at the time was considerable. He wrote a monograph on Proust and in 1934 published "More Pricks Than Kicks," 10 short stories. A year later came "Echo Bones," 13 free-verse poems. Just before he settled in Paris in 1938, he published his first novel, "Murphy." Its hero, obliged by his mistress to get a job lest she resume prostitution, works in a mental hospital. Then, returning to meditate in a garret, he is burned to death.

Just before the war Mr. Beckett had an unsettling experience with a tramp that is generally credited with intensifying his interest in dead-beat characters. Walking down the street, he was accosted for money; when he refused, the tramp stabbed him, perforating a lung.

After Mr. Beckett recovered, he sought out the tramp in jail and asked why he had assaulted him. The only answer was, "Je ne sais pas, monsieur" — I don't know. It was a reply that Mr. Beckett believed held a key to much of human behavior and reflected, too, the absurdity of life.

After the war, in which he served as a member of the French Resistance, he shifted to writing in French and to translating the results into English. In succession, he produced a novel, "Meridian or Camier," some short stories and the Molloy trilogy.

"Molloy" is a somewhat disconnected tale of Molloy's quest for his mother. "Malone Dies" concerns a moribund paralytic who seeks a peaceful death, while "The Unnamable" is an anonymous protagonist's search for his true identity.

These novels, like most Beckett works, are not for those looking for engrossing plot, snappy dialogue or light reading. They are novels to savor for ideas, symbolism and philosophical system.

Like these novels, "Waiting for Godot" was written in French. "Writing was never easy for me," Mr. Beckett recalled in 1967, adding with some bitterness: "I was in the wilderness for 20 years until 'Godot' brought attention to my novels, short stories and poems."

In 1969, Mr. Beckett won the Nobel Prize in Literature. Karl Ragnar Gierow, secretary of the Swedish Academy, praised the author for "a love of mankind that grows in understanding as it plunges further into the depths of abhorrence." Mr. Gierow said that his writing "rises like a misere from all mankind, its muffled minor key sounding liberation to the oppressed and comfort to those in need."

In a characteristic display of remove, Mr. Beckett sent one of his publishers to Stockholm to accept the prize. The author offered no public statement on the honor.

Beijing Replaces A Senior Planner

BEIJING — China has relieved a senior Politburo member, Yao Yilin, of his post as chairman of the state's highest economic planning commission, but he remains a vice premier.

State-run radio on Tuesday reported that Premier Li Peng said the move was aimed at giving Mr. Yao, 72, more time for his other responsibilities in the State Council. Mr. Yao was the minister in charge of the State Planning Commission.

Mr. Yao's main hold on power rests in his continuing membership in the Standing Committee of the Communist Party's Politburo, analysts said. Mr. Li announced the change at a closed-door meeting of the standing committee of the National People's Congress, China's legislature. The radio said that Mr. Yao's successor was Zou Jiahua, the electronics minister.

Spain's Private TV Channel

REUTERS

MADRID — Spain's first private television channel, Antena 3 de Televisión, began broadcasting this week for a month-long trial period. Antena 3, which was set up by a group of Spanish newspapers and foreign financiers, was one of three private television stations licensed by the government in August.

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LATIN AMERICA

NEW APPROACHES TO THE 1990'S - HOW NEW ADMINISTRATIONS WILL MEET THE CHALLENGES

LONDON, FEBRUARY 22 - 23, 1990.

Latin America is gearing up to meet the challenges of the 1990's. The new, democratic administrations are modernizing their economies and opening them to the outside world. International partners are examining new ways to help Latin America and the Caribbean emerge from the debt crisis into patterns of new and sustainable growth.

Want to know more? Then note February 22 - 23, 1990 in your diary now as the dates for the third International Herald Tribune/Inter-American Development Bank conference on Latin America. For further information, contact Jane Blackmore, Conference Office, International Herald Tribune, 63 Long Acre, London WC2E 9JH, Tel.: (44-1) 836 4802. Fax: (44-1) 836 0717.

Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

Reckoning in Romania

What a year. What a week. What a Friday. The Brandenburg Gate was reopened in Berlin by Helmut Kohl of West Germany and Hans Modrow of East Germany. And stunningly, in the face of horrifying violence, Romanians drove the despotic Nicolae Ceausescu from power. Except for tiny Stalinist Albania, one-party tyranny appears near an end in Central and Eastern Europe. Poland's government is already led by a non-Communist. Yugoslavia is committed to free elections in 1990. Hungary is organizing multiparty elections. Czechoslovakia is poised to elect the dissident Vaclav Havel as president. Opposition parties are blossoming in East Germany. Even stodgy Bulgaria has joined the march.

Until Romania, little blood was spilled in this remarkable upheaval. For that, generous credit is owed to the Soviet restraint and the reforming example of Mikhail Gorbachev. The reactionary President Ceausescu, by contrast, found his example in the Beijing massacre. In resorting to tanks and thuggery, he tragically confirmed his contempt for his people and for the simplest decency.

The killings that began last weekend in the remote western city of Timisoara spread to Bucharest. The toll, including many children, is uncertain and probably still climbing. Unlike other Warsaw Pact nations, Romania has no Soviet garrisons.

Rarely has outraged people had so many reasons to rebel. Fuel, electricity and even bread were rationed for years under a crackpot scheme to pay off all foreign debts. Oppression was so complete that typewriters had to be registered with police. And in 1988 the regime began bull-

dozing 8,000 villages in a bizarre resettlement plan whose intended victims included 50,000 ethnic Hungarians.

To this was added the insult of insatiable vanity. Though he ruled under the creed of Marx, President Ceausescu came to resemble one of the deranged later Caesars in a country that was once a Roman province. The ancient heart of Bucharest, with its churches and odd gingerbread residences, was ripped apart to form huge avenues honoring "the Genius of the Carpathians." Entire floors in national museums were devoted to the ruler's memorabilia. Vigilant police checked even children's books for imagined slights against the imperial family. Small wonder the Soviet parliament cheered when it heard the news of Mr. Ceausescu's fall.

The tormented nation cannot now turn to anything resembling an organized internal opposition. Although the provisional government that has been declared includes purged senior figures, there is no reform wing in Romania's governing party. Poland has had Solidarity, East Germany a Democratic Forum, Czechoslovakia a Charter 77. Mr. Ceausescu left a poisoned legacy of absolutism and ruinous isolation.

The same isolationism once won Mr. Ceausescu a measure of respect. As a nationalist he opposed the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, and he broke with the Soviet bloc in refusing to sever relations with Israel after the 1967 war. His dissent was rewarded by the West and tolerated by Moscow. But that was long ago, and the reckoning for his Caesarism now is done.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Panama's Urgent Needs

Assuring that General Manuel Antonio Noriega, now protected by the papal nuncio in Panama, eventually appears in a U.S. courtroom is less important than addressing Panama's urgent needs. For the Bush administration and the government of Guillermo Endara, the priority needs to be the rebuilding of a healthy Panama, independent from Washington and international drug lords.

Reportedly, the Vatican promised General Noriega that if he surrendered to its custody, he would not be turned over to the United States. If that was the only way to get the general off the streets, perhaps this pledge was worthwhile. But the issue now is whether Washington should wait out the Vatican and insist on arresting the general, or permit another solution.

The general reportedly has sought passage to Cuba or Spain. Letting him go to Cuba where he could continue to order military resistance would be clearly unacceptable. Spain has said it will not take him. Panama, which does not have an extradition treaty with the United States, is the proper place for the general to find justice.

When President Bush announced the U.S. invasion last week, one of his declared objectives was "to bring General Noriega to justice in the United States." But the United States has been willing to settle for less in the past. And as days passed without the general's capture, that position seemed to soften. Sunday night, Defense Secretary Dick Cheney remarked: "Now that we have successfully run General Noriega to ground, he is no

longer a factor, it seems to me." Just right. A trial might be emotionally satisfying, and could deter future Noriegas. But such satisfaction would have to await wrangling over custody. There would also be further delay if the general, who has worked for the CIA, sought classified data for his defense.

The general's surrender creates an opportunity to speed the U.S. invasion force's departure. With order now being restored and a new Panamanian security force being formed, police tasks could soon be transferred to an appropriate multinational organization, like the Organization of American States or the United Nations, should one prove willing.

Meanwhile, the Endara government would be wise to seek a fresh mandate through early elections. And it will need to prosecute drug-trafficking suspects already in its legal jurisdiction. Panama will not recover its full independence until it eliminates the influence of drug cartels.

Finally, the Endara government needs to revive an economy severely damaged by two years of sanctions and five days of heavy fighting. Washington is morally obliged to assist in this effort.

The political and economic reconstruction of Panama cannot comfortably proceed until the Noriega chapter is closed. The best way to do that is for the Vatican to turn the general over to Panama for speedy trial, or else find an alternative acceptable to Panama and satisfactory to Washington.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Restructuring, Anyone?

With the Soviets and most of the East Europeans struggling desperately with economic reform, there is a strong temptation throughout the West to indulge in self-satisfaction. The West is the model — a thought that easily leads to the dangerous habit of complacency. There is, in fact, quite a strong case for some restructuring in the leading industrialized democracies.

That proposition is offered by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, which operates as a sort of council of economic advisers to, collectively, the 24 countries that are the industrial democracies. David Henderson, the OECD's chief economist, points to three areas that are, in most of these countries, in need of structural reform.

Agriculture is the first. Most of the industrial countries are pursuing policies that — to use terms an international civil servant like Mr. Henderson would avoid — are grossly expensive, perverse and inefficient. It is true of the agricultural subsidy system in the United States, and its counterparts in Japan and Western Europe are even worse.

The second is housing. If shelter seems vastly overpriced in America, and if young people are increasingly shut out of the market for houses, it is as bad or worse in most of the other rich countries. But like farm policy,

housing policy is defended by armies of lobbyists and special-interest organizations to whom perestroika is as unattractive as it is to the hard-core Stalinists in Moscow. The difference is that the Stalinists are being forced to acknowledge their mistakes, while the farm and housing lobbies in the rich countries do not see anything wrong at all.

A third area that needs the perestroika treatment is trade policy. The current round of negotiations on international trade seems to be losing momentum as the sense of common interest fades. The Bush administration keeps saying cheerily that the American trade deficit is going to come down. But the OECD sees no reason to think so — or that the huge Japanese and West German trade surpluses will change much either. They will continue to be sources of instability and vulnerability in the world's economy.

The OECD's semiannual forecast shows little change. Growth, for the United States and for the industrial world as a whole, is likely to slow down a little. Unemployment will remain too high. Interest rates will also remain too high, because most of the rich countries are spending too much and saving too little. It is a familiar picture of a performance falling far short of the possibilities. Perestroika, anyone?

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

Other Comment

Romania: The Tasks at Hand

The crucial problem [Romania] has to overcome is rehabilitating the economy in the shortest time possible. Romania certainly needs significant economic assistance. The roughly \$7 million offered by the European Community is a welcome start. We can only hope that the unique state in the relationship between Washington and Moscow will be instrumental in setting in motion a coordinated effort to assist East European countries which are entering a new era.

—The Jakarta Post.

There will be much to sort out, a deranged and mismanaged economy, frightful destruction of living quarters for wasteful monuments to a discredited ruling class and total suppression of human potential. The business of sorting it out commences. Romanians will find well-wishers in Eastern and Western Europe and the United States.

—The Baltimore Sun.

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International Herald Tribune, 181 Avenue Charles-de-Gaulle, 92521 Neuilly-sur-Seine, France.
Tel.: (1) 46 37 93 00. Telex: Advertising, 613595; Circulation, 612832; Editorial, 612718; Production, 630698.

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Ming Pao, Asia, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

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China: Keep the Flame Burning

By A. M. Rosenthal

NEW YORK — China has disappeared from the news, but it is sure to be back, soon.

To start with, any day between now and Jan. 23, the rulers of Beijing will toss a few political bones to Washington. That will be in contemptuous payment for the American desertion of the Chinese protesters, who stood up for freedom just months ago, died for it or suffer for it still in new oppression meted out to them day by day.

Americans understood fully that, when President George Bush sent two of his top men on a secretly carried out mission to Beijing, he was reneging on a public pledge.

After the massacre of Tiananmen Square, he promised that there would be no high-level dealings with the murderers, at least until they recognized the validity of the students' aspirations. Americans understood, all too well.

But Mr. Bush was rescued by Panama and Romania from full awareness sinking in the American mind of two other shameful moves toward Beijing. The first was something the administration had never dared reveal before Cable News Network disclosed it. The same officials had been sent on another secret mission to Beijing, only weeks after the massacre.

To have announced the second mission while concealing the facts of the early one was duplicity.

While Americans were absorbing that, the Bush administration lifted economic sanctions, imposed as a penalty for the massacre. U.S. companies doing business with China can now receive tax-supported credit.

So when you read about a new American commercial venture in China you can feel a real warm sense of participation — some day you may be paying for it.

China was ripe for the TV news and newspaper front pages. Then Mr. Bush sent American troops into Panama, and Romania exploded.

Washington knows that this piece of good luck will not last forever. So it is sending out anxious signals to Beijing to toss those bones — let a dissident leave his refuge in the U.S. Embassy, lift some martial law regulations, do something.

China will probably oblige, but it will not mean anything.

The rulers U.S. diplomats toasted with such cordiality now know that some freedom can lead quickly to enough freedom to threaten them. They do not intend to be threatened

again if they can avoid it. But American pressure might have pushed them along.

Beijing held firm and nasty and in a few months American "pressure" turned into American submission.

Still, some kind of cosmetic payoff is called for regarding those missions and the lifting of sanctions. The Bush people want it done before Jan. 23 and are saying so to Beijing. That is when Congress reconvenes.

One of the first orders of business will be a bill that has the effect of assuring 38,000 Chinese students in the United States that they will not be forced to return to China as long as their freedom is endangered.

The bill was passed without a dissenting vote and Mr. Bush promptly vetoed it. The president's argument was that he could and would do the same thing by regulation, so no new law was necessary.

But regulations can be changed overnight by the president who issued them — the lifted sanctions have shown this.

It has become a matter of prime and political importance to pass the bill over the president's veto — quickly. For our sake, not just for the Chinese students. It will be one reply to the stealthy missions in the dark.

Mr. Bush considers himself an expert on China. "I know how China works," he assures Americans.



By TOM in Town (Amsterdam) C&W Syndicate

pert on China. "I know how China works," he assures Americans.

No, in respect, he does not. He knows something about how the top layer of Chinese Communists work, or how they want us to think they work — proud, powerful, mysterious.

But they are not China any more than President Nicolae Ceausescu was Romania, or those other dictators were Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary or East Germany.

Somehow the president and the geopoliticians who advise him cannot see that there is no mysterious Orient, just

a lot of people who want what other people want. A decent life under freedom, that is all.

Chinese students and Chinese workers, throughout the country, showed this spring that they knew what they wanted and would struggle for it, even before most of the countries of Eastern Europe did.

How can Mr. Bush have forgotten their passion, so soon?

One day, not too distant, the Chinese will show again what they want. They do know how China works.

The New York Times.

Help Romania's Brave New Leaders Down the Democratic Path

By Vladimir Tismaneanu

PHILADELPHIA — After 24 years of despotic rule by Nicolae Ceausescu, what domestic forces can secure Romania's transition to a democratic society?

First, the Romanians, yearning to match democratic progress elsewhere in East Europe, will look to the newly named chairman of the National Salvation Committee, Ion Iliescu, and to Corneliu Manescu, another member of the committee, which has declared itself the provisional government.

Second, the army, without which the revolution was impossible, will probably emerge as the guarantor of peace and stability once its fighting with Ceausescu loyalists ends.

Third, the new leaders will have the support of an opposition movement that was scarcely known outside the country.

Romania's thrust toward democracy falls midway between that of Czechoslovakia, with its liberal and democratic traditions, and that of Bulgaria, which lacks both. Since Romania's revolution was the only one to involve violence in Eastern Europe, the aftermath is likely to be nasty, with trials, purges and other recriminations. Witness the fate of Mr. Ceausescu and his wife.

Mr. Iliescu has good credentials. As long ago as 1971, Mr. Ceausescu denounced him for "intellectualism" and "bourgeois liberalism." Exiled to the city of Timisoara — the site of a massacre of Ceausescu opponents — he served time in a minor party job. In his last post, he directed a marginal institution, the Technical Publishing House in Bucharest.

More important, Mr. Iliescu has an unusual personal connection with Mikhail Gorbachev. In the early 1950s, both attended schools in Moscow and were active together in young Communist circles, where they became friends.

Mr. Manescu was foreign minister for 14 years, until 1975, during the regime's most pro-Western period. In March, he joined five other party

veterans in denouncing the Ceausescu regime. For this, he was punished by being denied treatment for an acute liver condition. Most recently, he lived under house arrest.

These two leaders have their work cut out. Mr. Ceausescu's most loyal institution was the security police, which numbered in the hundreds of thousands. Its sole function for many years was to protect the dictator and his clique. There is no chance that these torturers will escape revenge.

The army's turning against the cult-of-personality regime is not entirely surprising. For years, troops have been

forced to engage in such demeaning activities as raising crops and supplying manual labor for grandiose Ceausescu projects. The army intensely resented the security police, which was seen as traitors. It was the security police, not the army, that massacred women and children in Timisoara.

Can Romania's Communist Party survive? No. Even under a reform-minded leadership, it cannot recover to become a credible political force. Just to survive, it must renounce its monopoly on power and publicly recognize its responsibility for decades of misrule, as the East German party

has done. But in a free election, this gambit would attract less than 5 percent of the voters.

The small, elite National Salvation Committee — the dissidents whose existence surfaced in the West in November and who appear to be led by Mr. Iliescu — will almost certainly be merely transitional until new leaders and new parties emerge.

The committee accepts free elections and a market economy, but remains socialist. It consists of disenchanted Communists, draws many of its ideas from professors affiliated with the party academy in Bucharest and has connections with the Soviet Embassy in Bucharest.

Mr. Manescu has announced that free elections will be held. It remains to be seen when, and how free they will be. When they are held, the democratic forces are likely to flourish.

OPINION

Drugs: Calls for Surrender Increase as Use Decreases

By George F. Will

WASHINGTON — The dynamics of public opinion lag behind events, so the drug crisis probably peaked before anxiety did. And now, when drug use is decreasing, calls for surrender — legalization — are increasing.

Alcohol does much more damage — illness, accidents, violence, lost productivity, premature death — than cocaine and heroin combined. Yet many advocates of drug legalization favor treating drugs (this is economist Milton Friedman's formulation) "exactly the same way you treat alcohol."

Alcohol is much less addictive than heroin or cocaine and, besides, has long been a pervasive, rooted social phenomenon in a way that cocaine need not become. Surely it is perverse to argue for decriminalizing one drug on the ground that it currently does less damage than a drug that is legal.

Mr. Friedman argues that criminalization is "not working," that it costs American society more than legalization would and that government has no right to interfere with free choices that do not interfere with the free choices of others. Thus he is logically committed to unleashing existing drugs — and as many "designer drugs" as perverse chemists concoct in the future.

What of Mr. Friedman's bald assertion that the fight against drugs is "not working"? Drug use is declining from peaks reached in this decade. The number of heroin addicts is approximately the same as it was in 1972 when defeatists warned of exponential growth — an "epidemic" — and when Mr. Friedman urged legalization.

Containment of drugs is indeed costly. So has been containment of communism — costly, but a bargain. If drugs are legalized, asks James Q. Wilson, "in what proportion of auto fatalities would the state police report that the driver was nodding off on heroin or recklessly driving on a coke high? In what proportion of spouse-assault and child-abuse cases would the local police report that crack was involved? In what proportion of industrial accidents would safety investigators report that the forklift or drill-press operator was in a drug-induced stupor or frenzy?"

Legalizers urge: Tax drug sales and use the billions to provide "treatment on demand." But Mr. Wilson argues that "demand" for treatment often is a result of judicial coercion, and society could not compel treatment for consumption of a legal commodity. Mr. Wilson makes these and other decisive points in a dazzling essay coming on Jan. 20 in the February issue of *Commentary*.

He proves that Mr. Friedman, the high priest of market capitalism, is talking rot about markets and price mechanisms. If Mr. Friedman had been headed in 1972, the price of heroin would have fallen 95 percent. He concedes only that lower drug prices "might" increase demand. But then again, he thinks demand

for cheap legal drugs might not increase because drugs would lose the appeal of being "forbidden fruit."

Mr. Friedman really thinks that appeal, and pushers, create demand. But as Mr. Wilson says, friends, not pushers, recruit addicts. Pushers dislike dealing with nonaddicts because they might be undercover policemen.

Mr. Wilson says that most veterans who acquired a habit in the drug bazaar of Saigon kicked it when they came home. At home, the criminal law made continuing the habit involve risking one's personal and professional lives and one's bodily safety by "making an illegal contact with a disreputable dealer in a threatening neighborhood" to buy a possibly contaminated drug. Does Mr. Friedman think that demand would not rise if the people making and selling aspirins were making and selling heroin and cocaine?

Legalization would cause drug prices to crash; then taxation would raise them. How far? Government, calculating rates of consumption at various tax levels, would decide the "right amount" of addiction. If government priced drugs above what criminals could profitably sell them for, there would be two markets, and there would be no laws suppressing demand by stigmatizing use.

Legalizers say young people would be excluded from the free market for drugs. Oh? And today no young people obtain cigarettes or alcohol?

When asked about advertising legal drugs, Mr. Friedman flinches. He favors prohibiting advertising of drugs in newspapers or on television because people must see such advertising "whether they choose to see it or not."

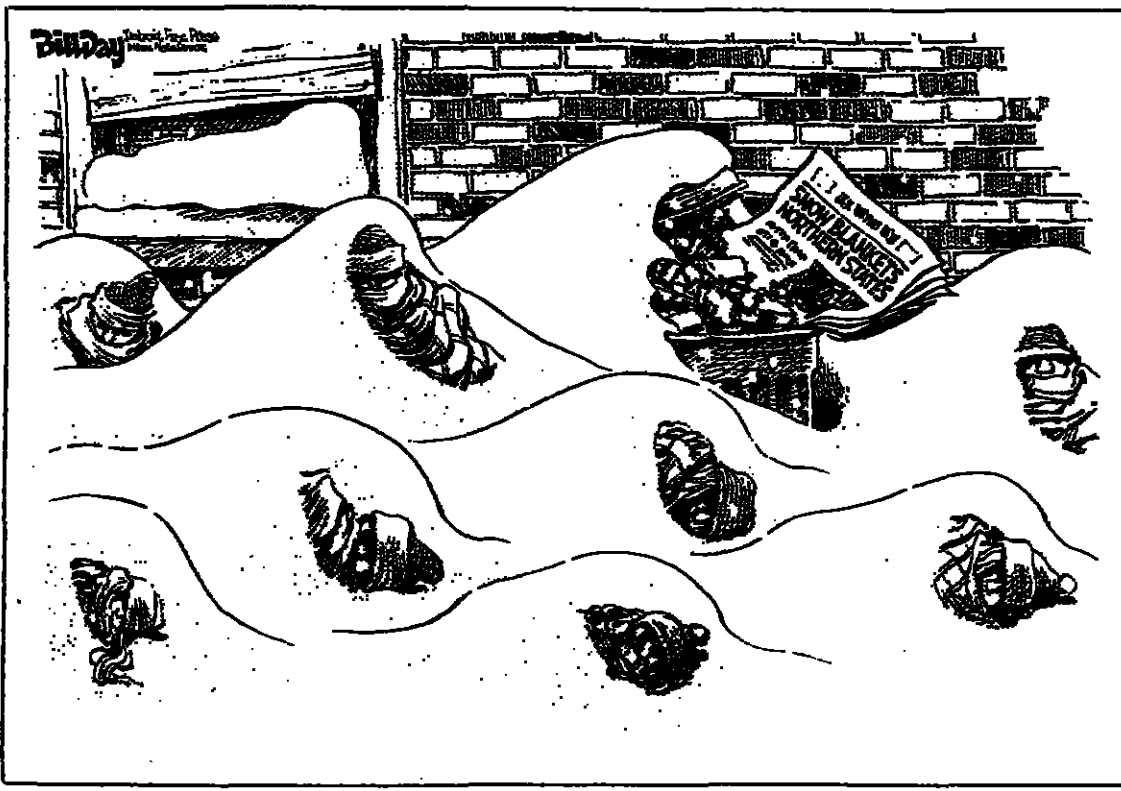
What rubbish. Mr. Friedman is caught. Advertising exists to inform and influence choices. If drug use is a private choice concerning which society should be permissive, drug sellers should be free to compete for market shares.

His monomaniacal worship of "free choice," even regarding addictive substances, is less a philosophy than a fetish. It demonstrates the intellectual poverty of libertarianism, the anti-political and anti-social doctrine of severe individualism.

As Mr. Wilson says in the core of his essay, no society is a mere aggregation of independently formed individuals. Society, without which human character is inconceivable and by which character is formed, depends on a certain level of dignity, responsibility and empathy. Determining that level is difficult, "but if crack and heroin use do not fall below it, what does?"

This also does: Today, interest in legalization is increasing as drug abuse becomes increasingly concentrated among poor minorities. That is proof that many privileged people are failing to measure up to minimal standards of responsibility and empathy.

Washington Post Writers Group.



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

An Alternative to Migration

Massive migration from poor to rich countries is a major political issue in Europe, which is being flooded by people from the Middle East, Asia and Africa. In the United States, the influx of immigrants from Latin America is, in many places, so large as to render integration and assimilation difficult.

Aside from admitting large numbers of persons whose cultures and attitudes are sometimes strongly at variance with Western or Northern values, or closing their frontiers and contributing to resentment and international tensions, there is a third option for the rich countries: a massive infusion of talent (educational, technical and administrative) into the developing countries with the aim of helping their citizens to achieve the standard of living they now seek elsewhere.

Financial aid alone is insufficient. A major commitment of human resources (an international Peace Corps on a gigantic scale?) is required to reduce the inequalities that are the driving force of the migrations.

H. V. RICKENBERG, Marseille.

Gorbachev and the G-7

The Bush-Gorbachev meeting at Malta appears to have succeeded in giving the two leaders an opportunity to explore the possibilities of a practical working relationship. It is essential that this new era of good feeling open the way for the world's major powers to consider how to serve their interests and,

equally importantly, Third World interests more effectively.

The first order of business would be to bring the Soviet Union, on a one-time basis only (at least at the outset), into the collegial Group of Seven. This could be done at the next Group of Seven meeting in mid-1990, at the 1991 meeting, or perhaps even at a special meeting.

We should have no illusions that such a meeting would produce specific accomplishments. However, its primary objective should be to explore — on a basis that would be broader than Mikhail Gorbachev's bilateral meetings with world leaders — the potential for a more cooperative and productive world, especially one that could significantly improve the quality of life for the majority of mankind that lives in substandard conditions.

Such a meeting should not attempt to hand the Third World and the smaller nations a manifesto as to how to behave in economic and financial terms. It could, however, set the stage for an enhanced collective approach to poverty alleviation, better technology transfer, debt relief and general economic assistance.

GILBERT H. SHEINBAUM, Director, The Colombo Plan, Colombo.

The U.S. 'Monopoly Board'

Regarding "The Summit Agenda Now Includes Ortega" (Opinion, Nov. 4):

William Safire offers no criticism of the U.S. role in destabilizing the government of Nicaragua. For years, the United States criticized the Soviets for controlling countries on its periphery, while

doing the same thing in Latin America. Not only does the United States have no right to control these nations, it has no right to even expect that they like Americans. The United States has to earn their friendship, which is difficult to do so long as it treats them like properties on its monopoly board.

LARRY SHAPIRO, Calgary, Alberta.

To Save America, Save

Concerning the resentment felt by many New Yorkers over the purchase by the Japanese of Rockefeller Center ("At Rockefeller Center, Dark Mood — and Humor — Over Sale to Japanese," Dec. 19), as a former New Yorker, I invite New York savings banks, and particularly those in the vicinity of Rockefeller Center, to place the following notice in their windows and in advertising in local publications:

The Japanese purchased Rockefeller Center via the money in their savings banks. The 10 largest banks in the world are Japanese. There is no point in feeling resentment against the Japanese. They have taught us a lesson. The family that saves is the family that survives, along with the nation. Events in Eastern Europe surely adequately evidence of the superiority of capitalism over communism. Capitalism is money in the bank. It is not the Joneses next door we have to keep up with. It is the Komuras across the Pacific. We will only be able to compete with them if we put more money in the bank than they do.

GERARD J. SANTORA, Beaugency, France.

Faxing, Free-Range Kiwis, And Other '80s Landmarks

By Dave Barry

MIAMI — It's hard to imagine how we got along before we had the '80s. Take the whole area of modern technology (by which I mean "Japan"), which gave us such advances as the cellular telephone, which enables businesspersons to talk while driving badly; and the fax machine, which enables us to send and receive documents and take-out menus faster and less legibly than we would ever have dreamed of before.

Also on the techno front, everybody

MEANWHILE

in the '80s except the actual homeless bought a VCR, a device that has revolutionized our amusement habits by enabling us to enjoy rental movie classics that we might never otherwise have seen, such as "Nightmare of the Revenge of the National Lampoon Police Academy Nerds on Halloween XIV."

And speaking of video advances, let's not forget the camcorder. Suddenly, if you were a new parent (which was very big in the '80s), it was possible for you to follow your child all over Disney World carrying a chunk of technology that, thanks to solid-state electronics, weighed no more than an ordinary household lawn mower yet was capable of making videotapes that would give you countless hours of enjoyment if you ever actually watched them. Which you didn't.

Of course not everybody became a new parent in the '80s; it just SEEMED that way because of the aging of the baby boomers. I'm talking about My Generation, the 800-pound gorilla of demographic trends, turning 40 in droves and starting to pay real attention to fiber-cereal commercials and advancing their careers and taking over the vice presidency of the United States as well as many truly important jobs.

Yet we did not forget our roots in the rock-and-rebellion '60s. So we had our Big Chill nostalgia wallows and our Woodstock retrospectives and our self-absorbed TV shows that made the other generations wish we would just hurry up and go senile.

Ronald Reagan is a name that for some reason springs to mind here, no doubt because he was one of the defining figures of the '80s. Wisely electing to delegate to underlings the "detail work" such as running the government and remembering exactly what year it was, he chose instead to concentrate on the task of restoring something very precious to the presidency, something that had been sorely missing under Jimmy Carter: height.

Religion came back strong in the '80s, especially on TV, with various religious figures raising millions of dollars for the Lord, although it is not clear what the Lord's actual net income was after deductions for various evangelical expenses such as studios, satellite time, salaries,

bonuses, houses, cars, additional bonuses, theme parks, motel rooms and, of course, mascara by the 55-gallon drum.

Speaking of fashion, the '80s saw a shocking increase in Denim Abuse, caused by sharp dressers paying large dollars for jeans that had been attacked repeatedly with dull fashion implements, so that at upscale gatherings you'd see many sectors of the human anatomy through all those designer rips and holes. The '80s will also be remembered as an era when millions of men wore totally unnecessary suspenders, millions of women wore Herman Munster Model shoulder pads, even to bed, and just about everybody, at one time or another, got a haircut that looked like the result of an unusually vicious fraternity initiation.

Another unsettling trend was that magazines started spontaneously emitting perfume samples. You'd be reading an article about the Greenhouse Effect, and you'd turn the page and, whoosh, you'd be awash in Joan Collins's sensuous new fragrance, and you'd come home smelling like a massage parlor and get in trouble with your spouse.

The early '80s saw a fanatical popular obsession with fitness, although toward the end this trend tapered off with a lot of people setting for merely wearing loose clothes and eating frozen yogurt. Another big food trend of the '80s was that restaurant menus became incomprehensible even when they were written in English, featuring things like blackened free-range kiwi that arrived at your table in molecular servings on plates the size of wading pools. And more and more Americans switched to "light" beer, which was popularized by hugely successful commercials featuring overweight ex-athletes arguing over whether they like it because it's less filling, or because it tastes like weasel spit.

Speaking of which, Morton Downey Jr. is an '80s name that we'll probably be forgetting soon, along with a lot of others, such as Ivan Boesky, Ed Meese, Jim Wright, Halley's Comet, Imelda Marcos, Pee-wee Herman, Gary Hart, Spuds MacKenzie, Roger Rabbit and Karl Marx. In fact I've forgotten many names already, because another major trend in the '80s — surely you noticed this — was that it got harder and harder to remember things. Or maybe that was just me.

Knight-Ridder Newspapers.

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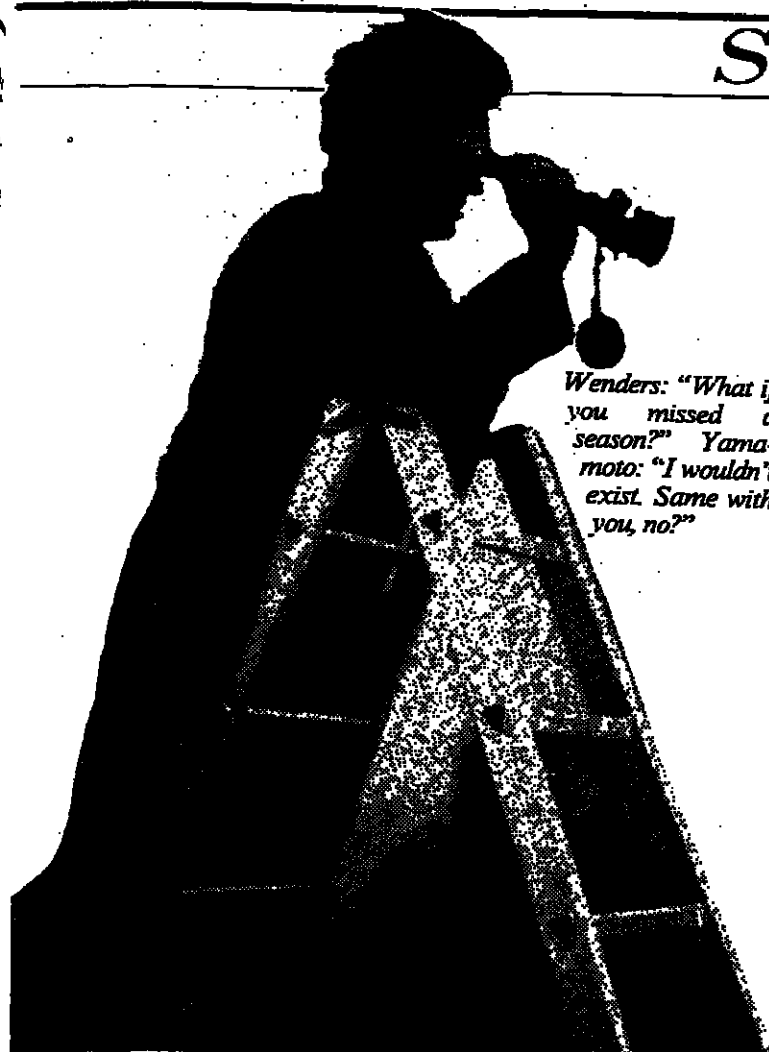
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STAGE/ENTERTAINMENT



On the Road With Wim and Yohji: Docufashion

By Elizabeth Ayre
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — When the Centre Georges Pompidou asked the West German film director Wim Wenders to make a movie about Yohji Yamamoto, the leading Japanese fashion designer, he was reluctant — "fashion" was not his métier. But then Wenders recalled his girlfriend Solange Dommarin's captivity by Yamamoto's

OFFSTAGE

designs (she'd worn them in his film "Wings of Desire"), and he tried the clothes himself; he found the jacket and shirt that Yamamoto offered "like the armor of a knight," like "a new skin" that was also a remnant of the past, memories of his father in wartime Germany (Wenders is 44) were stirred in an inexplicable rush, he was hooked.

"Carnet de Notes sur vêtements et villes" ("Notes on Clothes and Cities"), which opened in Paris last week and is scheduled for London and New York next week, is more poetic testimony than standard documentary. Wenders has made a film with Yamamoto, in which he speaks about the latter's people-oriented fashion, about garnering "respect" instead of just success in a profession in which "there is no number two." Yamamoto remains impenetrable, as elusive as Wenders himself

(they seem simultaneously enlightened and damaged by their experience of World War II — Yamamoto's father died in a Russian prison camp). Wenders dresses and combs his hair like a '50s American rocker; Yamamoto says he is not a "Japanese" but a resident of the "great cities" of Tokyo and Paris. The message is that an urban, stateless sensibility has developed since the war — omniscient, ahistorical, a curious mélange of aesthetics and bottom-line survival sense. (Yet Yamamoto's "Japanese" nature is clear in the pleasure he takes in simplicity, his timeless refinement of the kimono as basic unit, in the premium he places on "respect.")

Yohji Yamamoto is small, dark, silent, bearded, serene, casting asymmetric shadows into patterns for design. He is as modest as a new moon, claiming, among other things, that "fashion is but one variation of solitude." "Like, clothes do make the man or woman. Wenders applies this serenity into the high-velocity soundtrack of the rag trade. At times, he presents a visual triptych: Yohji working in his Tokyo atelier, contemplating a hemline, then lunging forward, sliding on his knees in mock *seppuku* to slice it on the bias with a razor-sharp scissors; he has done this so often he's achieved a smooth, rote motion, like Mookie Wilson fielding a pop-fly (but with far more money riding on each correct cut); screen-right sits Yohji the Sage in a camcorder cage; a runway ribbon above these images, where photographers

crouch hungrily for that moment of textual truth when the Yamamoto collection is set in motion.

S HOT alternately in 35mm film and video, suspended in a soundtrack of accordion caterwauls and Akira Miyoshi's hauntingly evocative "Fall in Midair," the film goes on the road with Wim and Yohji: from Tokyo's triumphant neon to gray-green Paris and the Pont des Arts, down the Champs and toward Roissy, sometimes encompassing both cities at once. Wenders's testimony is a feat of juxtaposition, inherently narcissistic, yet startlingly objective. He films models' feet low (an homage to Ozu?). His hand moves soothingly, screen left, near a clutch of women or silhouetted samurai as Yohji urges that one must not become a prisoner of style, but remain a guard with a key.

Yamamoto, 46, primarily wears black, the color he finds most beautiful in its simplicity — it is the conclusion of colors, the ultimate shade to which man is ineluctably bound. "Mixing, mixing, all becomes black," Yamamoto says slowly. "It's like you grab someone tight. There's a hysterical feeling in using black." Yet he pronounces these rather austere opinions in cadenced harmony, with the inevitability of waves breaking.

He worships the imperfect. Imperfection reflects the weakness of humanity. "Perfect symmetry is ugly," he says. "You don't feel human beings' hands, sweat, in

perfect things. I always want to destroy symmetry." It's a perfect summing-up of post-modernism applied to fashion, and explains his preoccupation during long portions of the film with the "emotional" faces found in old photos — collections of August Sanders's social types; the crooked smile of a gypsy; his hands stuffed clumsily into his pockets; the cut of Sartre's collar in a photo by Cartier-Bresson; the broad faces of women factory workers massed outside their plant (he uses their work garments as blueprints for his signature pinafores).

He waxes nostalgic for times when clothes were not "consumed" but lived in, depended upon, as thick coats once were in winter. To Yohji, this is life, not fashion. "The coat is beautiful because you feel so cold, you cannot make your life without it. It is like a friend or family. I am jealous of it. If people could wear things in that way, see a shirt hung across a bed and say, 'That's Frank's,' I'd be so happy."

Wenders and Yamamoto appear compatible as they shoot pool, nurse each other's eye wounds (Wenders opines that maybe the Germans are finally "opening" after their trauma of guilt, play catch with philosophical pearls. Yohji holds up a mirror to Wenders's identity angst: "What would happen if you missed a season?" Wenders asks. "I wouldn't exist," says Yamamoto. "It's the same with you, no?" In one shot, Yohji signs his name on a plaque on a shop he's opening; then he rubs it out and signs again; then again

identity is ever in flux in cities, on freeways, in cars. Wenders is often heavy-handed in his dramatic commentary, but he handles Yamamoto with utmost respect.

A T times, to a fault. We want him to push harder. What is behind Yamamoto's comment: "For me, the war is never over." What does he mean when he says women in high heels and stockings with seams make him uncomfortable? "Too big, and older than me." Why is he fascinated by images of Japanese women in flying suits, marshalled for the defense of the empire after their men had been killed? What does he mean when he says if he wasn't a designer he'd do "women's work" — stay at home and send my wife out into the world? What is the battle he seems to be leading in his father's stead?

Wenders opts for elliptical "dignity," it's never been his style in "Paris, Texas" or "The American Friend" to explain too much. So later, in a series of faxes, Yamamoto attempted an exegesis: "People nowadays are on the edge of a window onto the future and the past. The future does not interest me. I have no confidence in it. Today I drag my past around with me. I want to get older quickly..."

At the same time, he feels that both he and Wenders are making work that is meant to say, "Things should be easier between men and women now. How can I help you?"

Enterprising Bielefeld Scores With 'Nixon in China'

By James Helme Sutcliffe

BIELEFELD, West Germany — The first German production of John Adams's "Nixon in China" seemed to be putting headlines on stage, with its operatic evocation of Richard Nixon's historic 1972 visit to China coming on the heels of the surprise visit of President George Bush's emissaries. It was the same uncanny timing that brought a West Berlin musical version of Billy Wilder's "One, Two, Three" to the stage just as the infamous Wall was crumbling, a reminder that it was the building of the Berlin Wall that hindered Wilder's location filming of his comedy.

In the case of "Nixon in China," the Bielefeld production team of director

John Dew and designer Gottfried Pilz has again struck gold in its policy of presenting new or neglected operas as an alternative to the stultified repertoire of larger houses.

Curiously enough, their first-rate cast could have sung the opera in impeccable English were it not for Bielefeld's policy of presenting the unfamiliar in the vernacular. Lyza Kenney made a charming, articulate Pat Nixon, Lorenz Minth a commanding Henry Kissinger, John Pickering seemed perfectly type-cast as the enigmatic Chairman Mao, and Susan Burghardt hurled herself into an abandoned portrayal of the Mao's former movie-star wife, Chiang Ching, for the hilarious coloratura-plus-strip-tease that closed Act 2.

The audience chuckled in recognition of Nixon's ski-jump nose as he (Herbert G.

Adams) descended the plane's steps at the airport to greet the Chinese dignitaries led by Zhou Enlai (Ulrich Neuweiler), later to be besieged by a chorus of workers and interpreters fanatically waving Mao's little red book to the rhythms of a two-step.

F ORTUNATELY the German translation by Marion Grundmann and Alexander Gruber had been printed in the program, for Alice Goodman's thoughtful libretto was seldom intelligible over the composer's endless repetitions and obscure scoring, often thickened by an ensemble of those notorious voice killers, the saxophones. Adams uses minimalist techniques of composition, but with a better feeling for the possibilities of the human voice and a richer harmonic palette

than his more prominent contemporary Philip Glass. Despite the composer's unnecessary complex, continuous changing of metrics in almost every measure — something that does not come across to the audience and only makes the singers insecure — the conductor David de Villiers and his ensemble mastered the simplistic sounding score with aplomb.

The familiar orchestral excerpt entitled "The Chairman Dances" became a hilarious seduction scene between Chiang and Mao behind the unperturbed Nixon's couch, much to the distress of Kissinger. The hauntingly surrealistic final scene showed the Nixons reflecting upon their epoch-making visit in the cabin of their Air Force "Spirit of 76" while Zhou (now irrevocably part of U.S. thinking accom-

panied them on the roof and the Maos turtle-dove it on the wing of the plane.

T HE enthusiastic audience cheered production team and performers without reserve. Dew and Pilz have been invited to stage four new productions over the next several years with the Houston Grand Opera, the company that gave the world premiere of "Nixon" last year. Among the Dew-Pilz productions going to Houston will be their "Holocaust" version of Halévy's "La Juive," still in the Bielefeld repertoire until February. "Nixon in China" stays in the repertoire at least until the end of this season.

James Helme Sutcliffe is a Berlin-based critic and musician.

LONDON THEATER

Year of the Bard And Other Oldies

By Sheridan Morley
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — The year that saw the passing of the '80s also saw the passing of two great British theatrical giants, Lord Olivier and Sir Anthony Quayle, the ongoing occupation of the West End by huge new musicals ("Miss Saigon," "Aspects of Love") and the catastrophic "Metropolis" and the rediscovery of Shakespeare's Rose Theatre on a Banksite site alongside the one where Sam Wanamaker has, through 20 years and with rather less publicity, been excavating Shakespeare's Globe.

It has also been a year of major performances in relatively minor plays (Denholm Elliott as the waspish old actor in David Mamet's "A Life in the Theatre," Sheila Hancock as the lesbian school principal in Andrew Davies's Jean Brodie-esque "Prin") and of an unexpected Arts Council increase in subsidy levels of 11 percent, one which suggested that, as it draws near to the end of its third and current term, Thatcher's Conservative administration might at long last be beginning to see the wisdom of putting slightly more money into the whole of British theater than one small Georgian town annually gives its opera house.

It was a year in which the National Theatre established the extremely strong producer-director partnership of David Aukin and Richard Eyre, a year in which the Royal Shakespeare Company flailed around in search of a leader following the abrupt resignation of Terry Hands and general company uneasiness over Barbican life, and a year in which Nicholas Hytner proved himself as the hottest young director in town with a remarkable double of "Miss Saigon" (the Boubill/Schönberg Vietnam update of "Madame Butterfly") and "Ghetto" (Joshua Sobol's harrowing account of Polish Jews being forced to form an acting company for the entertainment of their Nazi oppressors).

It was the year in which John Wood returned after a decade in the United States to a remarkable London triptych of "The Tempest," "The Master Builder" and "The Man Who Came to Dinner," and in which Trevor Nunn also impressively returned to his RSC roots with a small-scale production of "Othello" starring Ian McKellen as Iago and, as Othello, the Porgy of Nunn's Glyndebourne revival of the Gershwin opera, Willard White.

Nunn also courageously cast his wife Sharon Lee-Hill in the London premiere of "The Baker's Wife," Stephen Schwartz's great scoring of the Pagnol film about French village life, which was very coolly received by critics long accustomed to Nunn's more spectacular musical ventures with Andrew Lloyd Webber.

New plays were precious few and far between, though the year did end at the Barbican Pit with Stephen Poliakoff's "Playing With Trains," a savagely waspish indictment (somewhere between "Citizen Kane" and "The Master Builder") of the British terror of inventions and inventors.

Prior to that, the best new play around had been Martin Sherman's "A Madhouse in Goa," a double-bill about American

dreams turning into nightmares on Greek islands, in which Vanessa Redgrave gave one of two superb 1989 performances. The other was in Peter Hall's rare staging of "Orpheus Descending," which has now triumphantly transferred to Broadway alongside Hall's other West End classical hit, the Dustin Hoffman "Merchant of Venice."

This was also the year that saw



Redgrave in "Orpheus."

the closing of the Royal Court's studio Theatre Upstairs, but the rise from the ashes of its own fire of the Tricycle in Kilburn.

It was the year in which Deborah Warner triumphed at the Barbican with "Titus Andronicus" and "King John" but then moved disappointingly to the broad open spaces of the Olivier stage at the National with the Fiona Shaw version of "The Good Person of Sichuan." It was the year when Stephen Wolcott came triumphantly to town with John Steinbeck's "Grapes of Wrath," and when Leonard Bernstein came to the Barbican for two nights only to premiere and record his long-awaited concert version of "Candide."

S URPRISE hits of the year included Maureen Lipman in a solo show about the late dissident Joyce Grenfell ("Reljoyce") and Peter O'Toole impersonating to perfection the vodka-stained character of the journalist Jeffrey Bernard.

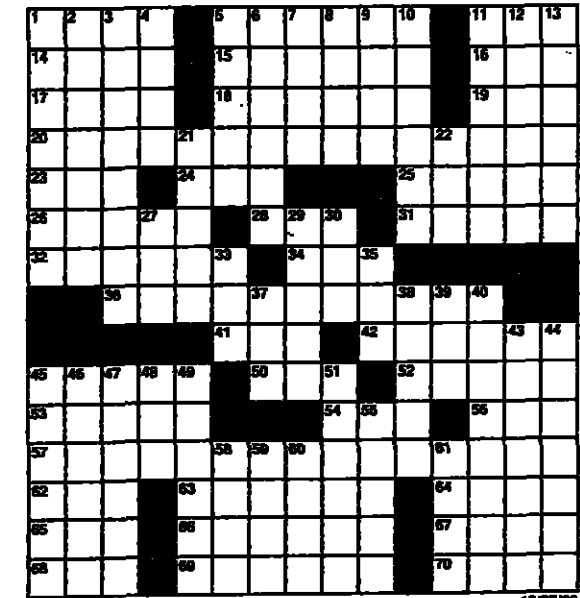
Stephen Poliakoff came from the Edinburgh Festival to the National with a mesmeric and balletic reinterpretation of Oscar Wilde's "Salome." Maria Aitken came from Glasgow to the Garrick in Philip Prowse's electrifying staging of "The Vortex," and in the wake of the Kenneth Branagh and Derek Jacobi Shakespeare seasons at the Phoenix, Alan Bates and Felicity Kendal established another commercial-classical stronghold at the Strand with new productions of "Ivanov" and "Much Ado About Nothing."

All in all, a year when Shakespeare had nearly as many West End hits as Lloyd Webber, and maybe none the worse for that.

- ACROSS**
- Chief Norse god
 - Calamitous
 - Communications call letters
 - Sand hill in Britain
 - Get a new set of radials
 - Hearing shell
 - C₂H₆OS
 - Series enders
 - Hall a fly
 - Start of a photographer's come-on
 - A feast — lamne
 - Choose
 - Was sick
 - An ICBM
 - Newt
 - Coasters
 - Cordwood measures
 - Seat of Wayne Co., Utah

Solution to Previous Puzzle

ROSE ALORA PETE
AVID ROTOR ITEM
MENU INTRA EARS
PRELUDE SEN
COTTON ELAPSE
IBSEN WHISK AND
LOAD PEACH ALAI
IER TENSE CLEFT
ASSORT CITRUS
REED ONE
OPA EASTERNER
EDEN ALLOT IONA
BERG UTILE NEST
BLUE GATOR GLEE



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- DOWN**
- Small numbers of shares on Wall Street
 - Black mark at school
 - Put in office
 - Modernists
 - Military unit
 - Distant
 - Egyptian solar deity
 - Caron role
 - Persia, now
 - Jai-alai baskets
 - Intimate
 - Hit very hard
 - Beliefs
 - He's had it
 - OEPEC's export
 - Celestial Altar
 - Baker's necessity
 - Also
 - Ormar's invented Bowl
 - Soul, to Simone
 - Length measure
 - Annoit, old style
 - Opp of days
 - Device for getting rid of garbage
 - Breathe
 - Lived
 - Photographer in the quip, e.g.
 - He who cometh
 - Bomb trials
 - Hayloft
 - See 43 Down
 - Farm machine
 - Levels
 - Fourth person
 - Trolley in London
 - Garroway or Brubeck
 - Branch

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12 Month		Stock	Div	Yld	PE	Std	100% High	Low 4 P.M. Ch
High	Low							

12 Month		Stock	Div	Yld	PE	Std	100% High	Low 4 P.M. Ch
High	Low							

A		B		C	
Year	Rate	Year	Rate	Year	Rate
1970	1.00	1970	1.00	1970	1.00
1971	1.01	1971	1.01	1971	1.01
1972	1.02	1972	1.02	1972	1.02
1973	1.03	1973	1.03	1973	1.03
1974	1.04	1974	1.04	1974	1.04
1975	1.05	1975	1.05	1975	1.05
1976	1.06	1976	1.06	1976	1.06
1977	1.07	1977	1.07	1977	1.07
1978	1.08	1978	1.08	1978	1.08
1979	1.09	1979	1.09	1979	1.09
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2014	1.44	2014	1.44	2014	1.44
2015	1.45	2015	1.45	2015	1.45
2016	1.46	2016	1.46	2016	1.46
2017	1.47	2017	1.47	2017	1.47
2018	1.48	2018	1.48	2018	1.48
2019	1.49	2019	1.49	2019	1.49
2020	1.50	2020	1.50	2020	1.50

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**The Daily Source for
International Investors.**

دکتر احمد رضا

Bank of France Leaves Intervention Rate at 10%

PARIS — The French current-account deficit narrowed marginally to a seasonally adjusted 8.6 billion francs (\$1.46 billion) in the third quarter, from a revised 8.7 billion-franc second-quarter gap, the Finance Ministry said Tuesday.

In the second quarter of 1988, the current account was in deficit by 3.2 billion francs.

For the first three quarters of the year, the French current-account gap widened sharply to 7.3 billion francs, from 2.4 billion. The nine-month deficit comes despite a 9.9 billion-franc surplus in the first quarter.

On an unadjusted basis, the third-quarter deficit totaled 8.6 billion francs, compared with a 6.2 billion deficit in the second quarter and a third-quarter 1988 shortfall of 2.5 billion francs.

The Finance Ministry said a widening trade gap was partly offset by

a wider services surplus, which totaled an unadjusted 43.3 billion francs in the first three quarters compared with a 25.2 billion services surplus a year earlier.

The unadjusted trade gap amounted to 47.2 billion francs, compared with 34 billion in 1988.

The Finance Ministry report noted that France posted a 3.8 billion-franc net long-term capital inflow in the third quarter.

Investment in French securities totaled 63.4 billion francs in the quarter, while French direct investment abroad amounted to 12.8 billion.

Short-term capital outflows from the nonbank private sector amounted to 10 billion francs, the ministry said.

Separately, a French national statistics institute reported Tuesday that only 8 percent of French industrialists are optimistic about

their domestic production levels in the future.

The December level was a sharp fall from the 20 percent optimism level in November. But in terms of global production, 22 percent of the industrialists were confident for the future.

■ France Boosts Borrowing

France plans to issue between 90 billion francs and 110 billion francs in fixed-term Treasury bonds in 1990, Agence France-Presse reported.

The huge increase, of some 10 billion francs above the 1989 level, is aimed at extending the average maturity of the public debt, the Finance Ministry said.

The government had planned to raise between 80 billion and 100 billion francs this year, but borrowed 87.13 million francs plus 652 million European currency units (\$77.18 million).

The Investor's Europe chart returns Wednesday. Many European markets were closed Tuesday.

The Bank of France said, "In this end-month period, the factors affecting banking liquidity are likely to have a very restrictive impact, particularly because of an expected increase in funds going into the Treasury account."

Yugoslavia Opens Stock Exchange

By Barnaby J. Feder
Special To The Times Herald-Examiner

NEW YORK—During the past five years, Texaco Inc. has earned some dubious distinctions.

It became the victim of the largest damage award in history when a court ordered it to pay Pennzoil Co. \$11 billion for illegally elbowing its aside to acquire Getty Oil Co. in 1984.

It also became the largest company to file for protection from creditors under U.S. bankruptcy law and the biggest target ever stalked by Carl C. Icahn, the New York corporate raider.

But with all these headline-grabbing news behind it, Texaco is being measured by Wall Street like any other oil giant. And by comparison, it is faring surprisingly well.

"I'm still not willing to say it's the best managed company in the industry," said William Randol,

er-risk prospects with modest, but quick, paybacks.

Texaco now ranks about average, or slightly above, among major oil companies in finding new oil, up from dead last in the early 1980s. And operating margins on refining and marketing operations have improved.

Though smaller than it once was, Texaco is much more profitable. Revenues for the first nine

Like many companies eliminated several layers of management. It also did down hundreds of poor

live shareholders, encouraged by Mr. Leahn, forced the company to settle the case for \$3 billion rather than appeal.

To win the backing of shareholders, the board also had to agree to sell major assets, to pay all shareholders a special dividend of \$8 a share, or \$1.8 billion, to see Mr. Leahn off, and to undertake a \$300 million stock buyback program.

Together with Howard C. De-

ploration and production group for instance, to sell 1,350 underperforming properties in the United States since 1988, for a total of \$350.6 million.

In the past two years, top management has sold Texaco's Canadian subsidiary to Exxon Corp. for \$2.34 billion, its West German subsidiary for \$1.22 billion to RWE, a German utility, and a 50 percent stake in its eastern United States refining and marketing operations to Saudi Arabia in a cash and oil deal valued at \$1.8 billion.

The sales have enabled Texaco to cut its debt to \$6 billion, from \$10.8 billion when the company emerged from bankruptcy on April 8, 1988.

Top management also evaluated unprofitable practices, including de-emphasizing links between production and refining.

Now, about 22 percent of what the group purchases comes from

Opens Stock Exchange

The Associated Press

BELGRADE — The first stock exchange in Communist Yugoslavia was set up on Tuesday in the northern city of Ljubljana, the state of the former Yugoslavia.

The agency said that the exchange was founded with a total capital of 20 billion dinars (\$17 million) and that 152 stocks representing more than 50 percent of its capital were owned by 23 Yugoslav banks.

The exchange will list domestic and foreign companies and will publish the Yugoslav Index, or YUDEX, of prices of selected stocks at the close of each trading day.

A money and securities market was established last month in Belgrade in keeping with Prime Minister

The Mercantile Exchange agreed to terms set by Reuters under which the agency would develop and operate the system only if it received a complete liability waiver. But the brokerage houses, often the target of suits from unhappy investors, have been reluctant to sign such a contract.

The Mercantile Exchange has proposed that the U.S. Commodity Futures Trading Commission adopt a rule that actually expands the waiver, so that customers, before ordering a trade on Globex, could sign a form releasing the mercs, Reuters and the brokerages from liability for any loss suffered as a result of the customer's use of Globex.

who follows the oil industry for First Boston Corp., "but compared to where they've come from, it's pretty impressive."

In the long run, the company may actually have been helped by the financial pressures it confronted. Analysts say Texaco has reshaped itself more rapidly and radically than it would have otherwise, making changes that were long overdue.

Like many companies under siege, the seminars, several layers of formidable management and a host of sizeable operations. It also closed or shut down hundreds of poorly performing assets, from oil fields to gas stations, and invested heavily to upgrade others.

At the same time, operations like exploration were refocused on low-

profits of this year were down slightly from last year, to \$264.6 million, and those from continuing operations, up by only 8 percent. But net income from continuing operations more than doubled in the period, to \$936 million.

"We worked our way out of a swamp and now we are in a position to climb the mountain," said James W. Kinneer, the president and chief executive of Texaco.

Mr. Kinneer, 61, who took over in 1987, has been credited with what James C. McKinley initiated as chief executive and chairman of the company in the early '80s.

The company he inherited from Mr. McKinley was stuck in the quagmire of the Pennzoil litigation and bankruptcy proceedings. Res-

Crane Jr., 38, who assumed the title of chairman when Mr. McKinley departed, Mr. Kinnear set out to streamline Texaco.

Texaco has gone from having 14 layers between Kinnear and first-line supervisors to six or seven in many places," said Larry Even, a spokesman. Mr. Kinnear, president at United Research Corp., a management consulting firm that has worked with several oil companies including Texaco.

Operating groups are given freer rein, and most managers are encouraged to improve profitability by cutting costs. The company's program that depends on objective performance, with profitability being the main measure.

That is what prompted the ex-

Texaco leases. It resells 85 percent of its overall purchases to other oil companies, and the rest, to Texaco refineries.

The company also adopted a more conservative approach to exploration and production.

But for all its gains, analysts still see the company as something less than a high flyer, especially when it comes to exploration and production.

Yet many believe that the stock, which has moved up the high 40s since the beginning of the year, is still undervalued because of the company's tortured past. Another advantage to the stock is that Texaco has less exposure to chemicals, whose prospects are poor, than other oil giants.

ter Ante Markovic's policy of introducing Western market mechanisms into the Yugoslav economy. The Belgrade market will deal at first only with such short-term financial documents as banking certificates and will be used only by banks and other financial institutions.

Last week Mr. Markovic announced that as of Jan. 1, the Yugoslav dinar would become Eastern Europe's first convertible currency as part of the program to bring Yugoslavia out of its economic crisis and curb soaring inflation. He also said the dinar would be set at November's levels for six months.

Mr. Markovic said the programs were aimed at pulling up the country's standard of living, which has fallen to its lowest level in 20 years.

GROWTH: U.S. Close to Edge

chief will be asked to focus more heavily on cases that fulfill the agency's basic mission of bolstering confidence in financial markets through protection of the small investor.

The decision to focus on individual investor protection, especially investigation and prosecution of stockbrokers and firms that engage in fraudulent sales practices, is a reversal of an SEC decision made in the early 1980s. At that time, the commission under John S.R. Shadforth decided it would rely almost exclusively on "self-regulatory organizations," such as the New York Stock Exchange and the National Association of Securities Dealers, to monitor stockbroker behavior.

But amid increasing concern about the decreasing participation of individuals in the stock market, Mr. Breeden has made clear that he wants the agency to move aggressively to protect individual investors. That means cases against stockbrokers aimed at re-establishing the SEC's credibility in policing the relationship between brokers and ordinary investors.

In addition to continuing the recently launched assault on fraudulent sales of penny stocks, Mr. McCutcheon will be asked to investigate

overly aggressive sales of securities by savings and loans and other financial institutions.

Mr. Breeden is concerned that individuals who walk into a thrift with cash to deposit, and who believe that they are walking out with a government-guaranteed certificate of deposit, are not tricked into purchasing some riskier security.

The renewed emphasis on protecting individuals against unscrupulous sales practices does not mean the SEC is abandoning its efforts against illegal, insider trading in connection with corporate takeovers. That program will continue.

Another major initiative that the new enforcement chief will be asked to spearhead is a three-pronged "disclosure" campaign. Disclosures made by companies at the time they are purchased with mostly borrowed funds — as well as the continuing financial disclosures of debt-laden companies — will be examined closely, as will the role of accounting firms in that process. The disclosure program also will target investors who are required to notify the public soon after they purchase 5 percent or more of the stock of a public company.

(WP, Reuters)

(Continued from first finance page)

tration announced that it had decided to approve the export of three U.S.-built civilian communication satellites to China, all built by Hughes Aircraft Co., and to lift bans on lending to China by the Export-Import Bank, an agency that provides financing for American exports.

Within 48 hours of the U.S. action, Beijing announced plans to lift some restrictions on foreign investors.

It said it would provide guarantees against confiscation, give investors the right to choose the chairman of a joint enterprise and end rules on the length of time a foreign project may operate in China.

Previously, all joint ventures were for fixed periods, often 20 or 30 years.

Administration officials said the reaction indicated China's keen interest in maintaining economic

"Nobody wants to pull out," said Roger W. Sullivan, president of the U.S.-China Business Council, "but companies are operating at a lower level than before." The council represents 300 U.S. multinational companies that do business in China.

Mr. Sullivan, a former State Department China specialist, said that U.S. business was now most concerned about China's "backtracking on enterprise reform."

He explained that the Chinese had previously wanted enterprises to respond to market forces, but they now have upgraded political and ideological control, giving party functionaries greater authority in factories.

Although the Export-Import Bank had been barred from making loans to China until the administration's action, the bank, which makes loans to finance American exports, continued to study China projects.

Since June it has made preliminary

(Continued from first finance page)

growth in the second half of the year.

Mr. Joelsson said an easier Fed policy will revive interest-sensitive sectors of the economy such as housing, stimulate the export sector by dragging the dollar lower, and help restore capital spending.

"Interest rates are clearly too high in real terms," Mr. Joelsson said. "A decline is critical to stimulate investment."

Analysts said that the Fed is acutely aware of the dangers the U.S. economy faces in 1980 and that it has already embarked on policy to lower rates.

The key federal funds rate, which has hovered at about 8.5 percent recently, is expected to ease to about 8 percent by midyear and to 7.5 percent or lower by the end of 1980.

Economists are generally confi-

signs of economic sluggishness became evident.

But the 1990s will also bring changes in the U.S. economic outlook that even that Fed will be powerless to influence, making economists hesitant about making forecasts beyond next year.

U.S. demand for new cars, which weakened considerably in 1989, will weaken further in the 1990s because fewer new drivers will be entering the market, Mr. Resler said, while a slower rate of family formation will mean less of a demand for housing.

On the positive side, economists said, less U.S. resources are likely to be devoted to defense in the 1990s because the perceived threat from the Soviet Union and Eastern bloc countries is expected to recede further in the wake of the dramatic changes of 1989.

The changes in Eastern Europe

[illegible][illegible]

that despite the recent moves by both sides to improve the climate, the prospects for business remained cloudy.

Belgian Banks Closed by Strike

Agence France-Presse

BRUSSELS — Belgian banks will not open reopen from their Christmas holidays break until Thursday, because of a strike by employees demanding higher wages, job security and shorter working hours.

The banks closed Friday and were due to re-open Wednesday. The employees want an overall agreement with management covering the whole banking sector, instead of the current system of individual banks reaching agreement with unions.

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estimating \$39 million are in the final stages of approval.

One project that may now go forward is an order for \$26 million of telecommunications and traffic-control systems that China has placed for its new Shanghai subway system.

Equipment would come from General Signal Corp. of Stamford, Connecticut. Nine Fernandez, vice president of the company, said: "We've been monitoring the situation very carefully."

■ Japan Set to Lift Freeze

Japanese government officials said Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu told an Upper House lawmaker on Tuesday that Japan planned to lift a freeze on an \$10 billion loan (\$5.63 billion) loan package to China, *Economist* France-Presse reported from Tokyo.

No precise date was set for lifting the freeze, which has been in effect since the June crackdown on pro-democracy demonstrators in Beijing.

INTERNATIONAL

Continued from Page 1

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said Mr. Boss of First Boston. "This may not seem evident for quite a few years but it will have a big influence on corporate planning in 1990."

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The move, Tokyo date was set for lifting the freeze, which has been in effect since the June crackdown on pro-democracy demonstrators in Beijing.

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Tuesday's Prices
NASDAQ prices as of 4 p.m. New York time.
This list compiled by the AP, consists of the 1,000 most traded securities in terms of dollar value. It is updated twice a year.

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Deal Signed In Jakarta For Cable

Agence France-Press
JAKARTA — Indonesia and Singapore have agreed to expand their telecommunications links by jointly building a \$60 million digital fiber-optic submarine cable, a published report said Tuesday.

The agreement was signed in Jakarta on Saturday by Jonathan Parapak, president of Indonesia's PT Indosat, and Wong Hung Kim, president of Singapore Telecom, the Jakarta Post reported.

The cable of about 1,000 kilometers (620 miles) would accommodate 15,000 simultaneous telephone calls and will also facilitate data and video/television communications between the countries.

The project, to be put out for bid in the near future, is expected to be completed in 1993, Mr. Parapak said.

He added that the project was part of a fiber-optics telecommunications development program agreed upon by the six members of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) comprising Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

Similar projects were expected to link Singapore to Malaysia, Brunei and the Philippines and Malaysia to Thailand, Mr. Parapak added.

Indonesia's telecommunications with Singapore account for about 25 percent of its total communications with the rest of the world, the newspaper report said.

Indonesia Heads for Take-Off

Deregulation Begins to Pull Economy Out of Trouble

Agence France-Press
JAKARTA — Indonesia's economy, so often hostage to the whims of the world oil market, closed the 1980s in better shape than many thought possible, but key problems remain for the decade ahead.

"1989 has been a very good year, with external factors kind to Indonesia," said one analyst here. "Deregulation is really beginning to pay off with the freeing up of the bureaucracy and increased exports."

Falling prices forced a government used to getting some 50 percent of its revenues from oil to devalue the rupiah by a third in 1983 and 1986 and slash spending.

Then a falling dollar made repaying Indonesia's largely yen-denominated foreign debt, totaling \$50 billion by 1989, an all-but-impossible burden, consuming half of the government's budget.

Unwilling and unable to restructure or reschedule the loans, the government of President Suharto had to grasp the nettle of economic deregulation, a longstanding recommendation of Indonesia's Western backers.

From 1983 it began to lift the heavy hand of the bureaucracy and encourage private business by dismantling monopolies, easing trade rules and liberalizing the financial and capital markets. Restrictions on foreign investment and participation were also dropped.

The reasoning was simple: in the fifth five-year plan beginning in April, the government forecasted total investment of some \$130 billion with just over half expected to

come from the private sector in the run-up to economic "take-off" in the 1990s.

"There has been tremendous progress in financial deregulation, leading to increased competitiveness in the banking system," an analyst said, adding that as reforms opened up the economy inefficient companies should go to the wall.

Official figures show exports rose 10 percent to \$12.3 billion in

The government of President Suharto has had to grasp the nettle of economic deregulation and cut bureaucracy.

the first half of 1989 compared with 1988, while export other than oil and gas stood at \$7.41 billion, up more than 18 percent.

These other exports have accounted for more than half of foreign earnings since 1987, but they are mostly price-sensitive commodities — wood, coffee, tea, rubber — carrying little value-added content, analysts warn.

The government has pressed ahead with plans for processing industries to boost foreign earnings and provide vital jobs. It has often used outright export bans and taxes, for example on wood products, as encouragement.

Economic growth rates tumbled

to around 2 percent in the early 1980s but recovered to average 5.1 percent at the end of the four five-year plan in March 1988, just above the critical 5 percent level judged necessary to ensure enough jobs for a workforce expanding by 2.5 million people each year.

Analysts put growth this year at just under 6 percent and thought 1990 would see a similar rate if current policies were continued and oil prices held steady at around \$18 a barrel.

The analysts also drew encouragement from sound investment figures, although there have been long-standing complaints that Indonesia does not offer as many incentives as its Southeast Asian neighbors to foreign businessmen.

In the first 11 months of 1989 domestic investment totaled \$9.3 billion, up from \$8.2 billion for all of 1988. Foreign investment fell from \$4.41 billion to \$3.92 billion but was still well up on previous years.

But Indonesia still faces problems. Oil and gas continue to be the largest export earner yet the country faces the prospect of becoming a net oil importer in the late 1990s as domestic demand and industrialization take a larger share of output of around 1.4 million barrels per day.

Inflation, rising from 5.5 to 6.5 percent next year, runs higher than in Indonesia's regional competitors.

Foreign aid, at more than \$8 billion in the last two years, will also continue to play a major role in balancing the country's books.

Record Orders in 1989 End Long Slump for Korean Shipbuilders

Agence France-Press
SEOUL — After years of sagging sales, South Korean shipyards have received orders worth a record \$3.3 billion in 1989, government officials and business executives said Tuesday.

As of Tuesday, the country's four exporting shipyards had received (foreign orders this year for 3.3 million tons of shipping, they said.

Company officials said the boom was expected to last four to five years, noting that the slump in the world shipbuilding market had bottomed out, and competitors' shipyards have also been filled with orders.

The previous record year was 1983, when the four shipbuilders — Hyundai Corp., Daewoo Corp., Samsung Shipbuilding & Heavy Industries Co., and Korea Shipbuilding & Engineering — won

four million tons in foreign orders worth \$3.03 billion.

In 1988, the shipyards received 2.6 million tons in orders worth \$1.57 billion.

South Korea's four major shipyards suffered losses amounting to \$475 million in 1987 and \$460 million in 1988.

The navy is planning to purchase four 280-foot (85-meter) long ships to be built by the Mississippi-based Moss Point Marine at a cost of \$11.5 million each, Lieutenant Commander Rene Luspo said.

Investor's Asia

Exchange	Index	Tuesday's Close	Prev. Close	% Change
Hong Kong Hang Seng	2000	1487.76	1484.57	+0.22
Singapore Straits Times	1550	3881.31	3804.37	+1.99
Tokyo Nikkei 225	3000	1645.50	1645.50	0.00
Kuala Lumpur Composite	1250	558.59	558.59	0.00
Bangkok Book Club	744.07	737.28	737.28	+0.92
Seoul Composite Stock	909.72	936.30	936.30	-2.84
Taipei Weighted Price	9145.38	8667.74	8667.74	+5.51
Manila Composite	1131.85	1074.96	1074.96	+5.29
New Zealand Barclays	1979.21	1979.21	1979.21	0.00
Bombay National Index	419.13	419.13	419.13	0.00

Sources: Datastream, Reuters, AFP

International Herald Tribune

Thai Bourse Sees Volume Surging in '90

Reuters
BANGKOK — The Securities Exchange of Thailand said Tuesday that trading volume was due to surge further next year, averaging at least 1.80 billion baht (\$70.2 million) a day in 1990, up from 1.48 billion baht this year and 634.2 million baht in 1988.

The exchange chairman, Aran Thammano, said the presence of foreign investors had risen to 13.6 percent of total volume this year, up from 12.8 percent a year ago.

The official indicator has advanced 23 percent in the last quarter, during which daily turnover has averaged more than two billion baht.

Indonesian Questions Deal On Timor Gap Resources

Agence France-Press
JAKARTA — A leading Indonesian academic has called for a review of an Indonesian-Australian agreement on the Timor seabed, saying it was unfair to Indonesia, it was reported Tuesday.

The agreement is to Indonesia's disadvantage, he has been heard, the daily Kompas quoted Herman Johannes, head of the semiofficial National Research Council, as having told a weekend seminar on Java.

Earlier this month, Jakarta and Canberra signed an agreement after 10 years of talks on developing the potentially oil- and gas-rich Timor Sea, where they have overlapping territorial claims.

Under the agreement, the 60,000 square kilometer (24,000 square mile) Timor Gap was split into three zones, one each under Indonesian

and Australian control and a third, the largest, to be jointly administered with any income split equally.

Indonesia will receive 16 percent of net resource rent taxes from the Australian-administered zone and in turn will give 10 percent from the proceeds of its zone to Australia.

Mr. Johannes said the Australian development area held more oil reserves than the other zones, and that despite advantageous profit-sharing for Jakarta in the Indonesian sector, the area was poor in hydrocarbon deposits.

He said that to be fair, any profit should be shared equally, regardless of from which zone it came.

Australian officials have said that limited surveys and exploration on their zone so far indicated that the area could hold more than one billion barrels of oil and gas reserves.

Wage Bill Rose 16% in China In 11 Months

Reuters
BEIJING — China's total wage bill grew by 16.3 percent in the past 11 months, to 221 billion yuan (\$46.8 billion), the State Statistical Bureau said Tuesday.

Wages have continued to soar despite a steep fall in inflation — from 25.2 percent last June to about 7 percent this month — following a government austerity drive launched 15 months ago.

The growth rate of wages in the southern coastal provinces of Fujian, opposite Taiwan, and Guangdong, adjoining Hong Kong, exceeded 20 percent, the Xinhua news agency quoted the bureau as saying.

Taipei Sets 0.1% Tax on Bond Trades

Reuters
TAIPEI — Taiwan's Finance Ministry plans to start levying a 0.1 percent transaction tax on corporate bonds and bank debentures in January, a ministry official said Tuesday.

This follows the cabinet's approval last week of a 0.6 percent stock transaction tax, which was proposed by the same ministry.

The ministry has revised the bond tax downward to 0.1 percent from a 0.3 percent rate, for which Taiwan legislated in May 1980 but did not put into force as an incentive for bond investors.

Taiwan's bond market remains very small compared with its booming stock market.

"We plan to remove the incentive but set a lower tax for bond investors because they are obliged to pay taxes for what they invest," the official said. The Finance Ministry, which last year cut the tax on stock transactions to 0.15 percent from 0.3 percent, plans next year to raise the tax to 0.6 percent.

Corporate bond and debenture transactions were about 9.3 billion Taiwan dollars (\$358.4 million at current rates) in 1988, down from 10.5 billion dollars in 1987.

Taiwan Cuts U.S. Coal Imports

Reuters
TAIPEI — Taiwan Power Co., the state-owned electric utility company, will further diversify its coal imports away from the United States to other countries, including South Africa, Australia, Canada and Indonesia, company officials said Tuesday.

The company's annual coal imports from the United States dropped to about 44.5 percent of total purchases in 1988, from 63.8 percent in 1984. Purchases from Australia and South Africa have risen to 27.9 percent and 26.4 percent, respectively, from 16.7 percent and 19.5 percent, in the same period.

"We will buy elsewhere to further cut U.S. imports to below 40 percent," said Hsi Shih-chi, the company's vice president.

Mr. Hsi said U.S. coal prices are higher than those quoted by the company's other major suppliers.

The diversification is also a way of reducing reliance on the United States as a supplier.

Chang Chung-chien, the Taiwan Power vice president, said Saturday that the company would use more coal to generate electricity for industrial and household uses.

Coal imports will jump to 16 million tons per year by 1996 and to 24 million tons by the year 2000, if construction of the company's fourth nuclear power plant remains blocked due to environmental protests, Mr. Chang said.

Taiwan Power's coal-burning power plants now account for 21.7 percent, or about 3.6 million kilowatts, of its total installed capacity of 16.6 million kilowatts, Mr. Hsi said.

Japan and China to Resume Talks on Steel Contracts

Reuters
TOKYO — Japan and China will resume steel trade contract negotiations for the first half of 1990 on Jan. 7, a spokesman for the Japanese steel companies said Tuesday.

At the last meeting, which began on Nov. 24, they failed to reach agreement because China suggested no price or quantity for the period.

China is the Japanese steel industry's major export market. Six steelmakers, Nippon Steel Corp., Kawasaki Steel Corp., NKK Corp., Sumitomo Metal Industries Ltd., Kobe Steel Ltd., and Nishin Steel Co. Ltd., jointly negotiate contracts with China.

In Manila, Peso Falls to Record

Reuters
MANILA — The Philippine peso fell to a record low of 22.475 against the U.S. dollar on Friday after eight banks traded \$10.5 million among themselves, the Bankers Association of the Philippines said.

The peso has been on a decline for almost two months, with sudden falls recorded in the past two weeks after following the failed coup against President Corason C. Aquino.

The lowest level the peso hit in 1988 was 21.415 to a dollar.

AMEX

Tuesday's Closing

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere. Via The Associated Press

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SPORTS

Billy Martin, 61: Brawling In-and-Out Yankee Boss

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

PORT CRANE, New York — Billy Martin, the hard-drinking, hard-nosed former New York Yankees manager whose on- and off-field brawls overshadowed his accomplishments on the diamond, died of neck and spinal cord injuries, officials said Tuesday.

The 61-year-old Martin was killed Monday in an alcohol-related traffic accident.

Martin died of a fractured neck and spinal cord compression at Wilson Memorial Hospital in Johnson City after the early evening crash, according to a hospital spokesman, Michael Doll. The truck in which he was a passenger came to rest at the driveway of Martin's 148-acre farm near Binghamton, about 150 miles northwest of New York City near the Pennsylvania line.

The pickup truck skidded off an icy road. The driver, a longtime Martin friend, William Reedy, 53, of Detroit, was charged with driving while intoxicated, Broome County Sheriff Anthony Ruffo said.

"It's like losing part of my own family," said the New York Yankees' principal owner, George Steinbrenner, who hired and fired Martin five times as manager. "He was one of a kind."

"If somebody rubbed wrong against him, he'll punch ya in the nose no sooner than look at him," said another former Yankee manager, Yogi Berra, a former teammate and a friend of Martin for 40 years. "But he was a great man, a kind-hearted man and he loved baseball."

Reedy, owner of Reedy's Bar near Detroit's Tiger Stadium, suffered a broken hip and possible broken ribs, Doll said.

Reedy said he and Martin had gone to a store and then stopped for a drink, according to Deputy Steve Glanville, who issued the citation.



Martin kicks dirt on an umpire in 1975.

An autopsy scheduled to be performed on Martin's body was canceled at the request of family members, Doll said.

The authorities said neither Martin nor Reedy was wearing a seat belt.

"It's shocking," said Lou Piniella, who is the Cincinnati Reds' manager but who spent as much time in a Yankees uniform with Martin as anyone. "It makes me sick to my stomach."

"He was a friend," he said. "I played for him. I coached for him. I had a special relationship with him. I talked to Billy in Nashville just a couple of weeks ago. He said he was going to be more involved with the team. He was going to go to more Yankee games, help evaluate the team in spring training. He was enthused about doing these things."

"I got the feeling he was looking forward to managing one more time. He didn't mention where or under what circumstances, but I thought he would've enjoyed managing one more time."

Martin had been serving as a special adviser to Steinbrenner, with whom he had a love-hate relationship.

The two always seemed to get along better when Martin was not managing the Yankees than when he was.

Steinbrenner denied Monday that he had had managerial plans for Martin again.

"No way," the owner said by telephone from Tampa, Florida. "He was too happy doing what he was doing. He was coming upstairs. He was going to be there more than ever before."

Bucky Dent, the current Yankee manager, said Martin had "his ups and downs, but he was a Yankee heart and soul."

Martin had lived near Binghamton since his last managerial tour with the Yankees ended on June 23, 1988.

He managed the Yankees five times, a major league record for a single team, and also served as manager of the Minnesota Twins (1969), the Detroit Tigers (1971-73), the Texas Rangers (1973-75) and the Oakland Athletics (1980-82).

Considered one of the most brilliant game managers of his time until his last two or three stints with the Yankees, Martin won the World Series with the Yankees in 1977, the American League pennant with the Yankees in 1976 and division titles with Minnesota in 1969, Detroit in 1972 and Oakland in 1981.

The fiery Martin was especially adept at motivating players, though some said he did this through intimidation.

Virtually all of his managerial jobs ended in controversy, but none as storied as his departures from the Yankees. Martin resigned the first time, in 1978, a day after saying of Reggie Jackson, his right fielder, and Steinbrenner: "The two of them deserve each other. One's a born liar; the other's convicted."

Steinbrenner dismissed him the other four times, usually after he had been in a fight.

In 1979, it was with a marshallow salesman; in 1985, one of his own players, Ed Whitson, who broke Martin's arm in a furious fight at a Baltimore hotel; in 1988, in the men's room at a topless bar in Texas.

Between the bar fight and his dismissal last

year, Martin threw dirt on an umpire in one of his many notorious on-field disputes.

His act drew a three-day suspension and a threat from the lawyer for the umpires union that the umpires would eject Martin from every game he dared step out of the dugout. Martin was gone as the Yankees' manager a few weeks later.

Alfred Manuel Martin was born in Berkeley, Calif., on May 16, 1928. He grew up fighting.

"I didn't like to fight," he once explained, "but I didn't have a choice. If you walked through the park, a couple kids would come after you. When you were small, someone was always chasing you. I had to fight three kids once because I joined the YMCA. They thought I was getting too ritzy for them."

Martin overcame his fighting long enough to

become a baseball player with the Yankees. Then he resumed his fighting in that arena.

In 1960, he broke the jaw of a Chicago pitcher, Jim Brewer, and Brewer later won \$10,000 in a lawsuit.

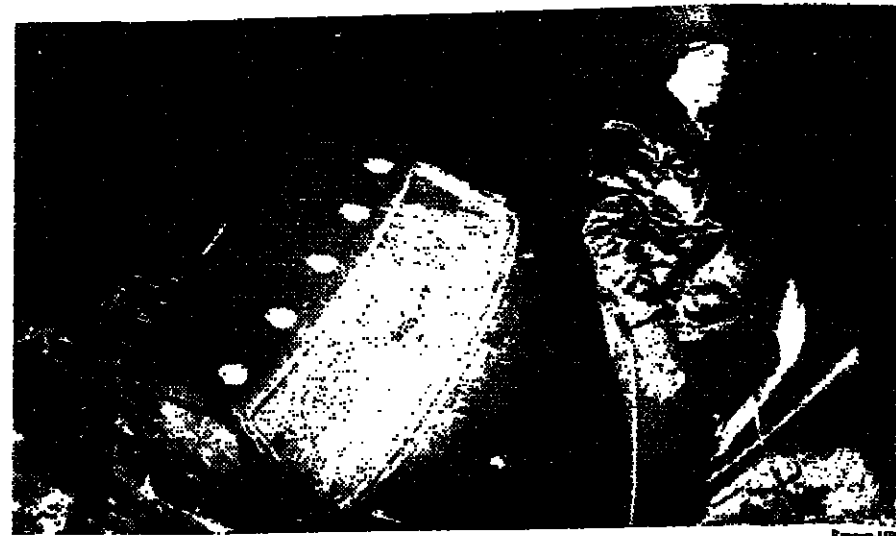
As a manager, in 1969, Martin knocked out one of his players, Dave Boswell, who was fighting another player.

Martin, 5 feet 11 inches and 165 pounds, also played a peppery game of baseball.

A second baseman, he reached the major leagues in 1950 and set a World Series record in 1953 for most hits, 12, in a six-game Series.

But the Yankees traded him in 1957, and he played out the remainder of his career with six other teams.

He finished his 11-year career with a .257 batting average.



A sheriff's deputy stands near the truck in which Martin, a passenger, was fatally injured.

Second Letter From Sergei: Only One Thing Has Spoiled My Year

International Herald Tribune

A second imagined letter home from Sergei Baltacha, formerly captain of the Dynamo Kiev soccer team, close to the first anniversary of his becoming the only Soviet player in the English soccer leagues. With thanks to Anglia Television for a documentary that opened a window into his mind.

IPSWICH, England — Comrades,

Before I speak about my situation, a thought this Christmas for Romania.

One year ago, it would not be possible to think this way. But as a sportsman who became a symbol of changes in the Soviet Union, I see on television the terrible scenes from Bucharest and Timisoara.

I hope, brother to brother, that my fellow soccer players survived the crossfire.

Once, we Soviet sportsmen envied Romanians. Their president had another idea of Communism and did not ask his countrymen to sacrifice for sports boycotts.

His gymnasts went to the Los Angeles Olympics, for example, and received many honors. I have met brilliant soccer players like Gheorghe Hagi, the Romanian national captain, and Marius Lacatus, who was so fast, so tricky against me.

Very, very good footballers. Perhaps it was not so good for them that the president's son, Nicu Ceausescu, took personal interest.

Their club, Steaua Bucharest, is an army club. Nicu Ceausescu liked to travel with the team, and I read in a Western newspaper that he personally changed the team trainer.

Nicu Ceausescu was at the European Cup final last May. Do you recall how strangely unmotivated Bucharest looked against Milan?

For 1990, I wish the fine players of Romania good life and good World Cup. It is little, but if sportsmen can make their countrymen proud, it is all we can achieve.

Thanks to perestroika, I see the world in a different way. I thought the West was anti-Soviet, yet I have never felt hostility to me or to my family.

I think it was sheer propaganda, from our side and from the West, that promoted the myth.

Only one thing has spoiled my year: I hate, as a sportsman, not to play, and I have been having many injuries — right now,

damaged ankle ligaments, but before that knee, back, hamstring and Achilles tendon.

English physiotherapists have the same cruel streak as those in the Soviet Union. Push, Sergei, push. Forget the pain, Sergei, push.

I try to be a diplomat, to do as the English do: grit the teeth and push.

This is the other side of sporting life, the opposite to my first

ROB HUGHES

match when, thanks to my colleagues in Ipswich, I scored last January.

The way of playing is more physical in England, the preparation like another language.

In Kiev, if I spent 20 days a year with my family, I was lucky. Two days before each match the team went to camp; then there was travel with eternal journeys across the Soviet Union — and national team training was at least one week for matches.

At Ipswich, we train only mornings, so I am home for lunch and my working day is finished.

I am not yet 32, and I long to play with Ipswich in the First Division (the team is currently in the Second Division) against real English top class.

Second, I would love to show England my true play. It is nobody's fault, but on the Soviet team I am a sweeper; England has a different system, with no sweeper.

Coming here is not one of my regrets. But I have doubts that I would repeat the last 10 years as soccer player.

You ask if I will help my son, also Sergei, become a soccer player. I have doubts about this also; the travel is hard and the injuries are dangerous.

But I see in his eyes, in his heart, that he wants to follow. A father cannot command and say no. Sergei plays with Ipswich "School of Excellence," where the trainer has a special gift for coaching youngsters.

Sergei is playing with boys two years older, but he is tall, like me, and is scoring many goals (not so much like me). He is expressing himself by this playing.

The boy is now 10 and with his sister, Elena, 6, is settling into an Ipswich school where 40 percent of the 320 pupils are from ethnic minorities. My wife, Olga, says the big improvement is

that here they learn from play; in the Ukraine children have it heavy from the beginning.

Olga and I also go to school because Gillian Holt, who teaches Russian, gives us two English lessons a week. Olga is better than me.

The variety in the shops still amazes her. Vegetables, for example. In the Soviet Union we have vegetables only in season. I told you already one year ago that our Ipswich house is detached and, they have a saying, "upmarket." Not so different, because in Kiev we were lucky to have an apartment in the best area, our own car and a dacha.

But I was in Kiev last summer. There are still food lines and gasoline shortages. Since perestroika the people are looking for something, but it hasn't happened yet.

For me personally, Ipswich is more restful than Kiev, where I am recognized everywhere.

I try to remember this is just an interlude in our experience. I am careful what I say, but on television I commented that the Capitalist system seems to look after the simple people best.

Two parts of the film will be hard for you to believe.

First, I was in a small airplane, piloted by Romeo Zondervan, who came from Suriname and is captain of the Ipswich team. I was a little afraid, a little untrusting in the back seat.

Second, my family went to tea at Glenham Hall, the country home of Patrick Cobbold, the Ipswich club chairman.

Very grand house. Mr. Chairman is a charming English aristocrat. I can't think negatively about wealth. His family of brewers earned that wealth and should enjoy it.

I thought all Englishmen wore top hats, carried umbrellas, never smiled and went home to their castles, never to go out to restaurants. But this is just a picture, a symbol.

We miss our mothers, our brothers and our friends, but now we have English friends and Ipswich hospitality.

Christmas here arrived with a great air of expectation. For more than one month, the town was lit up by colored lights; the buildup was so long and there were so many exchanges of presents.

But I must go now. It seems unique to Britain, but there are many games between Christmas Day and New Year's, and even the injured players travel with the team. It helps comradeship.

Yours fraternally,
Sergei

Rob Hughes is on the staff of the Sunday Times

BOOKS

THE DEVIL'S MODE

By Anthony Burgess. 290 pages. \$18.95. Random House, 201 East 50th Street, New York, N. Y. 10022.

Reviewed by Erica Jong

"THE DEVIL'S MODE" is Anthony Burgess at his best — which is so good as to make mere mortals like myself limp with envy and admiration.

Here are nine quintessentially Burgess tales: one in which Shakespeare meets his contemporary Cervantes; another in which Debussy meets Browning; and one in which Hamlet, Rosenkrantz and Guildenstern appear as students of necromancy in Wittenberg (and miss the main event of the raising from the dead of Helen of Troy because they must hurriedly return to Denmark). Other stories include a delicious retelling of "Der Rosenkavalier," a Sherlock Holmes musical mystery, an account of how Attila the Hun brings down the Roman Empire for the unrequited love of a Roman temptress, and a mischievous meditation on adultery ("The Wine of the Country").

It is hardly necessary to offer a précis of each tale. Every one is richer in wit, irony, history, learning and breathtaking prose than nine novels by nine of our most overrated contemporary novelists. Burgess takes history and makes it dance, sing and comment upon itself ironically. I know of no writer better able to recreate the past and make it live, no

writer better able to raise literary history from the dead and make it breathe.

As he did in his extraordinary novel of Shakespeare's love life, "Nothing Like the Sun," Burgess here revivifies no less an enigmatic character than Attila the Hun and gives him his full humanity. And all this is accomplished with such sprezzatura — that lovely Italian word for the art of making the difficult look easy. Where a Pynchon or a Bellow or even — God forgive me — an Eco would be ponderous about his learning, Burgess has the lightest of light hands. He has so assimilated history, languages, literature that they spin from his pen like sugar candy castles.

Since it seems hopeless to do justice to so rich and complex an author in so short a review, let me quote a bit from "The Cavalier of the Rose" to give the flavor of Burgess's mind:

"We all grow old, and yet what devil permits us to remain young within? Throw away all our mirrors, let us decree a special mirror-smashing day in the courtyard. And yet we can't blind the rest of the world. The mystery of growing old. Is there some moment in time from which we date our growing old, as fixed as a birthday? The first wrinkle, the first thickening of flesh beneath the chin? We wake up one morning and hear the cracked trumpet of the revelation: your highness has grown old. But her highness feels much as she did when she left the convent."

Burgess's themes are the themes of Shakespeare, of all muse-poetry: Eros

and Death, Death and Eros. Yet he brings his own special slant, his special window on the world — as great writers do.

He is intrigued with history, the historical perspective that allows us to find our own particular place in the cycles of decline and fall of empires. He is intrigued, as a novelist must be, with the impact of the personal upon the political, the impact of eros upon Clio, of Clio

upon eros. He disputes with death, using a novelist's only sword: language. The language is sharper and more glittering for his use of it. Read him and be inspired by what English can still be made to do — even in the age of the unbook.

Erica Jong's sixth novel, "Any Woman's Blues," will be published early next year. She wrote this for The Washington Post.

BEST SELLERS

This list is based on more than 2,000 bookstores throughout the United States. Weeks on list are not necessarily consecutive.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

FICTION

1 THE DARK HALF, by Stephen King 2 8

2 DADDY, by Danielle Steel 1 6

3 CARRIBEAN, by James A. Michener 3 6

4 CLEAR AND PRESENT DANGER, by Tom Clancy 4 17

5 THE POLAR EXPRESS, by Chris Van Allsburg 5 22

6 FOUCAULT'S PENDULUM, by Umberto Eco 7 10

7 JIMMY STEWART AND HIS POEMS, by Jimmy Stewart 9 14

8 TALES FROM MARGARITAVILLE, by Jimmy Buffet 8 10

9 STRAIGHT, by Dick Francis 8 5

10 THE ELEVENTH HOUR, by Graham Greene 10 4

11 THE PILARS OF THE EARTH, by Ken Follet 14 15

12 CALIFORNIA GOLD, by John Jakes 13 15

NONFICTION

1 ALL I REALLY NEED TO KNOW I LEARNED IN KINDERGARTEN, by Robert Fulghum 3 60

2 IT WAS ON FIRE WHEN I LAY DOWN ON IT, by Robert Fulghum 4 14

3 DRIVE, by Barry Blind 2 11

4 MY TURN, by Nancy Reagan with William Novak 1 8

5 EDUCATION OF A WANDERING MAN, by Louis L'Amour 6 8

6 ALL MY BEST FRIENDS, by George Plimton 7 5

7 LIAR'S POKER, by Michael Lewis 8 7

8 A BRIEF HISTORY OF TIME, by Stephen W. Hawking 9 8

9 CHILI DAWGS ALWAYS BARK AT NIGHT, by Lewis Grizzard 11 7

10 AMONG SCHOOLCHILDREN, by Tracy Kidder 12 17

11 I WANT TO GROW HAIR, I WANT TO GROW UP, I WANT TO GO TO BOSS, by Ena Bonebeck 10 10

12 THE TEMPTING OF AMERICA, by Robert Bork 13 2

13 WONDERFUL LIFE, by Stephen Jay Gould 14 5

14 CHRONICLE OF AMERICA, edited by Clifton Daniel 1 1

ADVICE, HOW-TO AND MISCELLANEOUS

1 THE WAY THINGS WORK, by David Macaulay 1 24

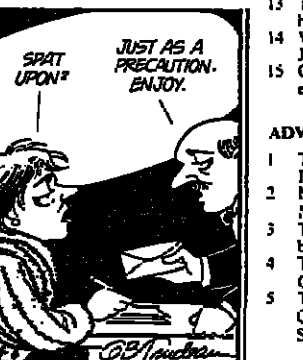
2 MARTHA STEWART'S CHRISTMAS, by Martha Stewart 3 8

3 THE GREAT WALDO SEARCH, by Martin Handford 2 2

4 THE WAY TO COOK, by Julia Child 4 5

5 THE "FRUGAL" GOURMET COOKS THREE ANCIENT CUISINES, by Jeff Smith 6 9

DOONESBURY



DENNIS THE MENACE



JUMBLE

Unscramble these four jumbles, one letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.

UNFYN

PUMBY

KUEBER

OTHPRY

Answers tomorrow

Yesterday's Jumbles: ANASH FAITH POPPIN SOCKET

Answer: Rich relatives left him in a yacht, and ever since he's been talking about this — YAS POPPIN SOCKET

BLONDIE



GARFIELD



SPORTS

Colorado Stays No. 1 With a Bowl Victory, But 3 Hope It Loses

By Sally Jenkins
Washington Post Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — This was the college football season in which Colorado gripped, Notre Dame misbehaved, Miami arrived late and Michigan lost early. Dennis Erickson took over Miami, Bo Schembechler opted to quit coaching at Michigan and Lou Holtz of Notre Dame babbled nonsense. Their various private sentiments and public posturing were diverting. Now comes the purpose in all of this: Which team will be No. 1?

The U.S. collegiate champion will be determined by the major bowl games on Jan. 1, and there are a good handful of teams with equally justifiable claims, all feeling the weight of a ring.

"It's out in front of you," Erickson said. "That ring is closer." Matters may be particularly contentious this New Year's Day. In an uncommon mass of a year, only No. 1 Colorado went undefeated. The Buffaloes (11-0) will meet the defending national champion, No. 4 Notre Dame (11-1), in the Orange Bowl, and a Colorado victory would make everything simple. But a loss would let in No. 2 Miami (10-1), which will go against Alabama in the Sugar Bowl, and also No. 3 Michigan, which makes its case against Southern California in the Rose Bowl.

The right circumstances could occasion the first split in news agency polls since 1978, when Alabama won No. 1 in The Associated Press but Southern California took the United Press International coaches' vote on the basis of an earlier defeat of Alabama. The similar possibilities this year raise a secondary argument, between those who favor a playoff system and those who enjoy the intriguing ambiguities of polls and bowls.

"The only thing that spells instant national championship is if Colorado wins," Tripp Welbourne, the Michigan defensive back, said. "So to me, whatever comes, comes. That's why it's mythical, that's what makes it interesting."

Each team has merits and drawbacks. Michigan was the preseason No. 1, only to lose its opener to Notre Dame, which took over the top place for 11 weeks. Miami lost in midseason to arch rival Florida State, and the team of the 1980s had a confidence crisis. Then the Hurricanes upset Notre Dame in the last game of the season, breaking their winning streak at 23 games.

All the while, Colorado's record grew steadily. The Buffaloes played on swelling emotion, dedicating the year to quarterback Sal Amese, who died of cancer this fall. But their season has to be viewed with some incredulity, accomplished under such strange circumstances, and in a week Big Eight Conference at Oklahoma was injury-prone and scandal-troubled and Nebraska was rebuilding. The Buffaloes are No. 1 for the first time ever.

"We didn't really earn No. 1," offensive lineman Joe Garten said. "We earned No. 2. Notre Dame was No. 1, and they just gave it to us."

The ranking could be merely on loan. The Buffaloes have never played for a national championship, and their sense of purpose may fall them, replaced by nerves. The last time they were unbeaten was 1923. This is only their second outright Big Eight title, and their first appearance in the Orange Bowl since 1977.

"We realize it's a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity," the Colorado coach, Bill McCartney, said. "We couldn't expect to have this good fortune again. It wasn't realistic."

And yet they set 43 school records. Sophomore quarterback Darian Hagan operated their option offense with aplomb, only the sixth player in National Collegiate Athletic Association history to gain 1,000 yards both passing (1,002) and rushing (1,004).

They dashed off 63 plays for 20 yards or more. For every easy rout over a lowly team, they pulled off a convincing victory against the likes of Texas (27-7), Illinois (38-7) and Washington (45-28).

Some observers wonder if the memorializing of Amese wasn't a bit much. His locker was glassed and players were reserved for him at team meals. There is little question they played with genuine conviction, which Notre Dame's Holtz considers their scariest quality.

"A sense of purpose takes you to a higher level," Holtz said. "I don't question that. It's impressive to an outsider."

If Colorado has the most emotion, Miami has the best timing. The Hurricanes lost their purpose for a while under first-year coach Erickson and his first-year starter at quarterback, Craig Erickson, who is not related. The loss to Florida State, with Erickson sidelined by a broken thumb, turned them temporarily into a fraction team.

On his return, Erickson made a public scene of yelling at his receivers, who criticized him equally. When they weren't arguing, they were questioning the new staff or their self-esteem. "We walked around like zombies," offensive lineman Mike Sullivan said.

But the Hurricanes have played for the national championship in one form or another every year since 1986. Dennis Erickson promised them they would have a say in the '89 title race, appealing to their bedrock of confidence. One victory reestablished them, the climactic 27-10 defeat of the Irish.

They received considerable assistance in the rankings when they soared from No. 7 to No. 2, helped also when then-unbeaten and No. 2 Alabama fell to Auburn in its last regular-season game. It put Miami in the best position a team with one loss could ask for, and the Hurricanes' Sugar Bowl game against Alabama is arguably an easier task than Colorado faces in Notre Dame. They have ironed out problems with Dennis Erickson's new one-back offense, and Craig Erickson has regained his composure.

Their season may be summed up by one remark. "Everything that needed to happen did," Sullivan said. "Luck factors into any national championship. Someone gave us a hell of a nice gift. I'd like to think it's an omen."

No team got more assistance in the polls than Michigan (10-1), inexplicably ranked ahead of Notre Dame despite its 24-19 loss to the Irish on Sept. 16. That means the Wolverines will win their first national championship ever under Schembechler, who will retire immediately after the Rose Bowl. It would take the following: Miami must lose to Alabama and Colorado to Notre Dame, but not by much. The Wolverines must demolish the Trojans.

Those events, plus sentiment for Schembechler, could swing votes their way. But the route is too circuitous for Schembechler to place much emphasis on it. Their first priority must be to defeat Southern California, no mean feat in light of their dreadful 2-7 history in the Rose Bowl under Schembechler.

The Wolverines are not without solid arguments in their favor, however. The loss to the Irish came on two fluky kickoff returns for touchdowns by Raghbir (Rocky) Ismail of 89 and 92 yards. They were forced to go with freshman quarterback Elvis Grbac when starter Michael Taylor was injured early. Since then, they have won 10 straight.

While Miami and Michigan benefited from a fortunate convergence of circumstances, Notre Dame couldn't have lost at a worse time. Nothing drops a team so heavily as a late-season defeat. When the Hurricanes simply crushed the Irish, their self-conviction was severely undermined.

How will they grapple with a loss for the first time in two years, and particularly the notion that the tide could be beyond their grasp? Even if they defeat the Buffaloes, No. 1 could swing to the Hurricanes, and Holtz has told them plainly their prospects are not good.

"We know we must have help along the way," linebacker Donn Grimm said.

The loss to Miami may have been inevitable when viewed in the context of an absolute trial of a season. Perhaps no colossus of a team could have survived the Notre Dame schedule of eight bowl games and numerous controversies. They lost players to disciplinary actions and were criticized for an unsightly pregame brawl with Southern California.

Holtz acknowledged, "I don't believe we'll get a lot of sentimental votes."

Against Miami they were uninspired. The offense led by option-oriented Tony Rice, normally so machine-like, did not score a touchdown.

"It took time to set in," Grimm said. "We were not accustomed at all to losing. Not to see the consequence of it, dropping in the polls, did we accept it. It was like a nightmare. You hoped you'd wake up and it hadn't happened."

But Notre Dame is not a team that yields easily. The Irish have the added advantage that the burden of proof is on Colorado. "I don't believe we've got a very good chance for the national championship," Holtz said, but then added with typical obfuscation: "If we lose."

Vikes Win NFC Central, Eliminate Bengals, 29-21



It may have looked like a tackle, but after the Vikings' victory, Darrell Fullington, left, hugged Minnesota teammate Scott Studwell.

Packers Are Out of Playoffs, Steelers Gain Wild-Card Slot

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
MINNEAPOLIS — A week ago, the Cincinnati Bengals' coach, Sam Wyche, assailed the Houston Oilers for playing the dumbest, most undisciplined football imaginable.

On Monday night, Wyche's team committed two senseless penalties in the fourth quarter that virtually

Rich Karlis kicked field goals of 31, 37 and 21 yards to give Minnesota a 9-0 lead with 11 minutes to play in the second quarter. The Bengals were struggling, but should have felt good about still being in the game.

However, Cincinnati appeared to panic. Boomer Esiason, who had thrown 25 touchdown passes and only eight interceptions coming into this game, lobbed one up for grabs that Viking safety Darrell Fullington grabbed at the Bengals' 37.

PRO FOOTBALL

handed the Minnesota Vikings a 29-21 victory in the final game of the National Football League season.

Wade Wilson's one-yard touchdown pass to tight end Brent Novoselsky with four minutes to play gave the Vikings (10-6) their first National Football Conference Central Division title in nine years. It also knocked the Bengals (8-8), last year's American Football Conference representative in the Super Bowl, out of the playoffs.

"It's the biggest game I ever won in 38 years of coaching," said the Vikings' coach, Jerry Burns, an assistant coach for six Super Bowl teams in Green Bay and Minnesota.

As a result of Minnesota's victory, the Pittsburgh Steelers gained a berth against the Oilers in the AFC wild-card game.

The Bengals tried several times during the game to give the Vikings a victory and they eventually succeeded.

With the Vikings leading, 22-21, a late hit out of bounds by Bengals cornerback Eric Thomas cost Cincinnati 15 yards on the first play of what turned out to be the game-losing drive. An unsportsmanlike conduct penalty assessed to cornerback Lewis Billups for arguing a holding penalty pushed Minnesota to the seven-yard line.

On fourth down at the one, Burns opted to gamble for a touchdown. He sent Herschel Walker into the game as a decoy and called a run-fake lob pass to Novoselsky, a player unwanted by Chicago and Green Bay this season. He made a diving catch at the back of the end zone.

The Bengals were amazingly inept in the first half, considering what was at stake. Despite their inconsistencies and injuries, the Bengals came into the game knowing they could reach the playoffs and defend their AFC championship by beating Minnesota.

The team that deserved better was the Green Bay Packers, who wished for a Vikings loss that would give them the NFC Central title. What the Packers saw, instead, was their elimination from the playoffs by the Bengals.

The Bengals came out without spirit. On one series, Bengals linemen committed two tripping penalties and a false start. Ironically, it was the Vikings who spent much of the year wondering whether their players had enough heart to contend for a championship.

The Vikings had every reason to start questioning themselves again. They drove like mad three straight times, only to stall inside the 20-yard line each time, once inside the five.

After stopping Minnesota for the first time, the Bengals began to drive again at the end of the half. But Esiason's second interception — 32 seconds before halftime — prevented Cincinnati from closing the gap and enabled Minnesota to widen it with Karlis's fifth field goal and a 22-7 halftime lead.

The play that set up the final score was a 50-yard loss that Hassan Jones pulled in by jumping over a crowd inside the 10.

But Esiason wasn't through. Just 25 seconds into the third quarter, he spotted a mixup in Minnesota's coverage and found tight end Rodney Holman with a 65-yard touchdown pass.

Mistakes killed several more Bengal chances. When James Brooks and rookie Eric Ball carried four times for 33 yards, getting to the 11, two Esiason drop-backs produced disaster. He lost 10 yards when sacked by Chris Doleman and he fumbled after being sacked by Henry Thomas. The Vikings had six sacks for the game.

The next Cincinnati possession was just as messy, as Ball fumbled at his 40. But the Vikings wasted an opportunity when Fenney fumbled at the 15 with two minutes left in the third quarter.

Once again the Bengals walked into disaster. Esiason's pass was tipped by cornerback Carl Lee and intercepted by linebacker Mark Dusbabek at the Cincinnati 40. The Vikings, getting two yards from Fenney on first down, stalled once again. This time, not even Karlis could save them: His 52-yard attempt bounced off the right goalpost with 14 minutes remaining.

Finally, Esiason and Craig Taylor connected on an 18-yard scoring pass that made it 22-21 with 8:49 to go. (WP, AP)

49ers, or Another NFC Team, Favored to Win Super Bowl

The Associated Press

Two years ago, the San Francisco 49ers finished 13-2 and were prohibitive favorites to reach the Super Bowl. Then they were summarily dispatched by the Minnesota Vikings in their first playoff game — at home.

That fact should be kept in mind as the 49ers (14-2) enter this season's playoffs with the best chance to repeat as National Football League champions since the Pittsburgh Steelers last accomplished the feat a decade ago.

Or as their coach, George Seifert, said Sunday: "The trick now is to keep it going."

Still, it's not difficult to classify the 49ers as favorites going into the playoffs that will culminate in New Orleans on Jan. 28.

It's also not difficult to suggest that a team from the National Football Conference, which has won the last five Super Bowls, should be favored to win again. The five NFC teams that have qualified for the playoffs were 16-4 collectively this season against American Football Conference teams, with the 49ers and New York Giants each going 4-0.

Moreover, the team with the best record in the AFC, Denver (11-5), lost to the only two NFC playoff teams it met, the Giants and Philadelphia Eagles. And both those losses were in Denver.

The 49ers start as clear-cut favorites not only to reach the Super Bowl, but to win it, particularly with Joe Montana in peak form. His 112.4 rating was an NFL record for a quarterback.

But only 10 weeks ago, after they dealt for Herschel Walker, the Vikings looked like a team in that category, and they barely made the playoffs.

Now they have new life and have the personnel to make the most of it: notably a defense that registered

71 sacks, one short of the Chicago Bears' 1985 NFL record.

Minnesota is the only NFC playoff team that has not played San Francisco, but it was the Vikings — an 8-7 regular-season wild-card team — who went into Candlestick Park two years ago and unceremoniously dumped the 49ers, 36-24.

The 49ers are 3-1 against the other four NFC entrants — but they could have won or lost all of those games.

For example, they split with the Rams, losing 13-12 at home and winning 30-27 on the road.

In the first game, the 49ers held a 12-10 lead late in the game and were driving deep in Los Angeles territory when Tom Rathman, a usually sure-handed fullback, fumbled. That led to Mike Lansford's winning field goal for the Rams on the final play of the game.

As the Rams' quarterback, Jim Everett, put it: "You don't want to give Montana the ball with any time left on the clock."

That was dramatically demonstrated in the game in Anaheim, when the 49ers rallied from a 17-point fourth-quarter deficit.

That time the Rams seemed to have the game won until Everett and center Doug Smith mishandled a snap at the San Francisco five-yard line. The 49ers recovered, and on the next play Montana hit John Taylor with a short pass that he took 95 yards for a touchdown.

That kind of comeback also marked the 49ers' 38-28 victory in Philadelphia, where Montana was sacked eight times, once for a safety, and San Francisco twice trailed by 11 points in the fourth quarter. But Montana ended up with four TD passes in that period.

In the 34-24 victory over the Giants it was New York that came back — from a 24-7 deficit to tie it in the fourth quarter. Again, the 49ers got a break: New York's Reyna Thompson lined up offense on Mike Cofer's attempt at the go-ahead field goal. Cofer missed the first kick but made the second chance with just over four minutes left, and the 49ers tacked on an insurance TD after an interception.

Denver's home-field advantage makes it the favorite to represent the AFC for the third time in four years, particularly since the Houston Oilers, liable to be its first opponent, is horrendous on the road — 3-5 this year, but worse over the past few seasons.

The Cleveland Browns could be the biggest threat, particularly if Kevin Mack, who missed most of the season after being jailed for a drug conviction, shows that he's the heavy-duty runner the Browns have needed all year. Mack ran for 62 yards and the winning touchdown in Houston on Saturday night.

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NFL Playoff Picture

Wild-Card Games

NFC

● LOS ANGELES RAMS (11-5) at PHILADELPHIA EAGLES (11-5); Sunday, Dec. 31, 12:30 P.M. EST.

AFC

● PITTSBURGH STEELERS (9-7) at HOUSTON OILERS (9-7); Sunday, Dec. 31, 4 P.M. EST.

Divisional Playoffs

AFC

● BUFFALO BILLS (9-7) at CLEVELAND BROWNS (9-6-1); Saturday, Jan. 6, 12:30 P.M. EST.

● PITTSBURGH-HOUSTON WINNER at DENVER BRONCOS (12-4); Sunday, Jan. 7, 4 P.M. EST.

NFC

● PHILADELPHIA at SAN FRANCISCO 49ERS (14-2) — (if EAGLES win wild-card game); Saturday, Jan. 6, 4 P.M. EST.

● MINNESOTA VIKINGS (10-6) at SAN FRANCISCO — (if RAMS win wild-card game); Saturday, Jan. 6, 4 P.M. EST.

● LOS ANGELES or MINNESOTA at NEW YORK GIANTS (12-4); Sunday, Jan. 7, 12:30 P.M. EST.

Conference Titles

Sunday, Jan. 14

Super Bowl XXIV

Sunday, Jan. 28

SCOREBOARD

BASKETBALL

NBA Standings

EASTERN CONFERENCE

Atlantic Division

New York 17 7 .708 1st

Philadelphia 14 10 .583 2nd

Boston 14 11 .560 3rd

Washington 12 13 .480 3rd

New Jersey 7 18 .280 10th

Miami 7 20 .259 11th

Central Division

Atlanta 16 9 .640 1st

Chicago 16 9 .640 1st

Indiana 15 10 .600 2nd

Los Angeles 12 12 .500 3rd

Portland 12 12 .500 3rd

San Antonio 10 14 .417 5th

Seattle 12 12 .500 3rd

Cleveland 10 14 .417 5th

Orlando 9 17 .346 7th

WESTERN CONFERENCE

Midwest Division

San Antonio 17 4 .773 1st

Denver 17 9 .607 1st

Utah 16 9 .640 1st

Dallas 12 12 .500 3rd

Houston 12 14 .464 4th

Minnesota 5 20 .200 10th

Charlotte 4 19 .173 13th

Pacific Division

L.A. Lakers 19 4 .769 1st

Portland 18 8 .692 1st

Seattle 12 12 .500 3rd

Phoenix 10 12 .455 7th

Garden State 10 14 .417 5th

Sacramento 9 14 .391 6th

L.A. Clippers

23 235 102.4

24 239 101.5

25 242 102.2

26 247 102.7

27 226 98.6

28 249 102.9

29 237 101.1

30 232 102.7

Team Defense

1. Syracuse (23)

2. Kansas (21)

3. Georgetown (17)

4. Illinois (11)

5. Michigan

6. Oklahoma

7. Missouri

8. Louisville

9. LSU

10. Indiana

11. Arkansas

12. New Mexico

13. Duke

14. Georgia Tech

OBSERVER

Musing on the Bounty

By Russell Baker

NEW YORK — The U.S. government looked distinctly cheap when it offered \$1 million for General Noriega. For that kind of money you can't even get a halfway decent baseball player anymore.

President Bush, who set the price, knows this. He is a sports fan. He knows what \$1 million is worth in the big leagues: slightly more than a utility infielder, not as much as a fat, gray-haired designated hitter.

He pointed this out in the Noriega evaluation meeting at the White House. The Pentagon team wanted him to offer \$10 billion.

"Is that billion with a 'b'?" asked Treasury Secretary Brady.

Absolutely. The Pentagon men noted \$10 billion with a "b" was the minimum price of getting any military project in hand, and General Noriega was military, wasn't he?

Attorney General Thornburgh objected. For \$10 billion, he said, any sensible felon would hand himself over for prosecution. A mere billion or two would buy Noriega lawyers so cunning he could keep justice paralyzed for years.

Secretary of State Baker suggested offer \$3 million a year for five years. No sir, said the president. It would be an insult to Rickie Henderson.

Rickie Henderson was to get \$3 million a year for baseball work with the Oakland A's, but Rickie would get it for only four years. The president thought Rickie might start putting and flitting with liberalism if the Bush administration showed it thought Noriega was worth more than he was.

Rickie's forte was dash and daring, the president said. Rickie took risks. Taking risks was necessary for a man to achieve greatness.

If an embittered Rickie were to lose the risk-taking spirit and turn to liberalism, he might soon join the American Civil Liberties Union and poison locker-room morale by preaching that it was immoral to steal bases.

Had he himself, George Bush, once just another messy vice president who went along with absolutely anything and kept smiling — had he not shown since becoming president that risk-taking was essential to greatness?

The president did not have to answer his question. Presidents hold all the trump cards when questions like this are asked. Everyone in the room competed to answer.

Yes, the chief had taken hair-raising risks. He had picked Dan Quayle for vice president, even though he knew vice presidents often ended up running the country when presidents proved mortal.

Also, he had secretly sent agents to pay his respects to China's bloodied despots, though he knew — didn't he? — yes, he surely must have known — that everybody in both parties here at home would denounce the mission as a sniveler's kowtow.

The president's hand waved to stem the praise. He has not held the office long enough yet to cherish the sycophancy it attracts. He is still capable of modesty, still in touch with human feelings, therefore still aware of how much hot water you can get into when you sit down and try to put a value on a Noriega.

Pegging Noriega at \$3 million for five years would foolishly insult the United States' finest baseball players when the object of the exercise should be to insult Noriega, the president explained to his evaluators.

Even offering \$3 million for one year might produce sulks in a lot of ho-hum but nevertheless good American baseball players and start them down the road toward the A.C.L.U.

What was needed, the president said, was a price so insulting that when Noriega heard it he would roll on the ground and gnash his teeth. It must be a price, said the president, so firmly identified with trash that Noriega could not fail to blush at the point.

How do I know all this? All I can say is that though Bernie Baruch is gone, there are still wise men out in this old world whom presidents sometimes consult.

As I told a certain party on the telephone, "The figure you are groping for is \$1 million, as the following question will show: Where do you instantly put a piece of mail if the envelope states that \$1 million awaits you if you open it?"

"Thanks a million," said the caller with dashing, daring decisiveness.

New York Times Service

Sinyavsky in Exile: Russian Without Tears

By Alan Riding

Fontenay-Aux-Roses, France — When he walked from the bed that serves as his writing place, limping and stooped as if weighed down by the burden of exile, his hair and beard as white as a page, Andrei Sinyavsky looked a great deal older than his 64 years.

As he sat down slowly on a straight-back chair, lit a cigarette with a slightly trembling hand, adjusted the cardigan around his shoulders and looked nervously over half-moon glasses, he reinforced the impression that here was a Soviet dissident author to whom life had been unkind.

Yet, after a few minutes, Sinyavsky's voice seemed full of life and his remarks full of irony. There was no self-pity about his years in a prison camp, no regret about living in exile, not even yearning to return to Russia.

"When I left, I left forever," he said, recalling that he sought the right to emigrate. "I would like to be able to visit Russia, but I want to live in France because Russia is still far from being a free country. That book, for instance, still cannot be published in the Soviet Union."

He nodded toward a copy of his autobiographical novel, "Goodnight!" Written in the early 1980s, the book has just been published in English translation by Viking, to warm reviews.

"Anyway, for a writer, what's important is not where his body but where his soul is," he added.

From the outside, his rambling home in this Paris suburb could pass for a dacha. Piles of books in Cyrillic and walls covered with icons announce that Russian territory is being entered. To this day, beyond an occasional "bonjour" and "merci," the author speaks only Russian. He teaches Russian culture at the Sorbonne — in Russian, of course — and his wife, Mariya, edits a Russian-language literary review.

He follows events in the Soviet Union through constant visitors. "In the past, people would come secretly," he said, "but now

writers, journalists, actors come openly. I want to see them all. Under Brezhnev, every day was like the previous day, but now things are very sudden and unexpected. And it's not at all certain how they will turn out."

At least one part of him left

'For a writer, what's important is not where his body but where his soul is.'

Moscow in the early 1960s. Under a pseudonym, Abram Tertz, he won acclaim as the author of numerous short stories and two novels about the Soviet Union that were published abroad.

"Abram Tertz existed only to write abroad," Sinyavsky said. "Once the KGB had identified him in September 1965, however, Sinyavsky was predictably arrested. At the time, he was teaching at the Gorky Institute of World Literature in Moscow."

"In a sense, Abram Tertz was the dissident, not me," he recalled. "I was a liberal man of letters with a few relatively small complications in my professional life."

In the trial that followed, in which his co-defendant, Yuli M. Daniel, was also charged with publishing anti-Soviet works abroad, Sinyavsky reluctantly became more famous than Abram Tertz. Even after six years in prison camp and two years of restricted freedom, the author continued to be haunted by his pseudonym.

"Abram Tertz is the novelist, and Sinyavsky is the academic," he explained. "After I was freed, Tertz continued to write, and I concluded that I couldn't just kill him off. So I had the choice of going abroad or ending up in a labor camp again. That was the choice."

Today, both names survive. Like "Goodnight!" which was first published here in Russian in 1983, his first book in exile. "A

Voice From the Chorus," a collection of prison-camp letters to his wife, was signed "Abram Tertz (Andrei Sinyavsky)." But he attributes these books to Tertz.

More recently, it is Sinyavsky who has been busiest. His book "Soviet Civilization" has been published in French and German. He has also just completed a study of the village idiot in Russian folklore. But now Abram Tertz's turn has come again.

"Because I usually write about fantastic things — that is, the grotesque and far-fetched — I first have to find a fantastic idea," he said with a smile. But he also passes real events — not least his own experience of Stalinism — through his literary imagination.

"People are still interested in the past," he said. "For example, we still don't know many of the mysteries of Stalin. Did he kill Gorky? Did he kill Lenin's widow? How did he kill Kirov? It's interesting. 'Goodnight!' is also a bit of a detective story, a sort of adventure. But life is like that."

Finding time to write remains a problem. Three times a week, Sinyavsky must commute to Paris to lecture at the Sorbonne.

"It's the easiest way I have of earning a living," he explained, "but if I were not paid, I would not do it." Then there is the time spent with other Russian exiles who admit painfully, argue constantly among themselves.

He has traveled to the United States, Israel and different European countries. And he is an unabashed admirer of the West, dismissing those Soviet exiles who like to dwell on its supposed decadence. When Alexander Solzhenitsyn's name came up in this context, Mariya Sinyavsky sprang immediately into the conversation.

"There is a Russian proverb," she announced. "It says, 'He who is intelligent likes to learn, and he who is stupid likes to teach.' Solzhenitsyn's problem is that he always wants to teach the West something. Our country is in such a catastrophic state that Russians



Sinyavsky: "Each person must decide his exile for himself."

should do one thing: come here and learn."

Sinyavsky listened with amusement to a vehement opinion he had no doubt heard before, then added his own view.

"The West reminds me of a beehive because its structure is both very light and very solid, with each cell linked to the other. If you destroy one cell of a beehive, everything else survives. But Soviet society is a sack tied with a knot and, if you make a hole, everything falls out."

A few days after the death of Andrei D. Sakharov, Sinyavsky was asked if he had known the Soviet human rights advocate.

"I knew him little," Sinyavsky said, "but I respected him a great deal. In the camps, there were dissidents but also those imprisoned for their religious beliefs. Sakharov helped all indiscriminately. He had the greatness of spirit that Russians needed."

Sinyavsky visited Moscow in January this year, after the death

of Yuli Daniel, but he came away unimpressed by the idea of trying to return for good. Did Sakharov's death stir any feeling of guilt that, while others fought for greater political freedom in the Soviet Union, he lived abroad?

"Each person must decide his exile for himself," the author said, undisturbed by a question already settled in his mind. "There's no general rule. One can be useful in the Soviet Union as well as abroad. Unfortunately, for many years, there was no freedom of creativity in Russia and, to continue creating, some people had to leave."

Now Sinyavsky is anchored to the West not only by his books, his habits and his freedom. His 25-year-old son, Igor, has also settled in Paris, where he lives with his fiancée, the daughter of another Soviet émigré.

"They speak French to each other," the author said with a tinge of regret, "but I have decided that I will speak only Russian to my grandchildren."

PEOPLE

Marilyn Quayle Trades Views on Abortion Pill

Marilyn Quayle, the wife of the vice president, exchanged letters with the head of an anti-abortion group last week over whether she had or had not endorsed the use of an abortion-inducing pill for rape victims. The exchange arose from an interview with Mrs. Quayle in an article in the New York Daily News, in which she said that in cases of rape "every step should be taken to insure that a pregnancy has not occurred." She added, "Something like the French morning-after pill, if proven effective, would be very appropriate and would lessen the psychological trauma of a rape victim." David Beckwith, the vice president's spokesman, said that John C. Wilkie, president of the National Right to Life Committee, wrote to Mrs. Quayle after he saw an advance copy of the article, saying he hoped Mrs. Quayle was not advocating the use of RU 486, a drug now used in France. He said it was not a contraceptive pill but a chemical that induces abortion. "It is not a morning-after pill," Wilkie wrote. "It is more like a month-after pill."

In a reply to Wilkie, Mrs. Quayle reiterated that she favors "whatever can be done to prevent the onset of pregnancy." She also said, "I do not support any pills except those that prevent pregnancy."

The singer Bobby Brown has been nominated for American Music Awards in five categories and the video dance queen Paula Abdul and rapper Too \$hort have been named four times each. Nominees for the 17th annual entertainment awards were chosen by record sales and by voting in a nationwide poll. Winners of the 27 awards, organized in six categories, will be named in Los Angeles on Jan. 22.

The former blues queen Blaze Starr is back selling her homemade jewelry in a Maryland mall, but she loved her five-day stay in New York for the premiere of "Blaze," a film based on her love affair with former Louisiana Governor Earl K. Long. She did all she could in New York to promote the movie, from which she will earn 4 percent of the profits. She participated in 14 straight hours of interviews along with actors Paul Newman and Lolita Davidovich and the director, Ron Shelton.

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SA, 1204, 1205, 1206, 1207, 1208, 1209, 1210, 1211, 1212, 1213, 1214, 1215, 1216, 1217, 1218, 1219, 1220, 1221, 1222, 1223, 1224, 1225, 1226, 1227, 1228, 1229, 1230, 1231, 1232, 1233, 1234, 1235, 1236, 1237, 1238, 1239, 1240, 1241, 1242, 1243, 1244, 1245, 1246, 1247, 1248, 1249, 1250, 1251, 1252, 1253, 1254, 1255, 1256, 1257, 1258, 1259, 1260, 1261, 1262, 1263, 1264, 1265, 1266, 1267, 1268, 1269, 1270, 1271, 1272, 1273, 1274, 1275, 1276, 1277, 1278, 1279, 1280, 1281, 1282, 1283, 1284, 1285, 1286, 1287, 1288, 1289, 1290, 1291, 1292, 1293, 1294, 1295, 1296, 1297, 1298, 1299, 1300, 1301, 1302, 1303, 1304, 1305, 1306, 1307, 1308, 1309, 1310, 1311, 1312, 1313, 1314, 1315, 1316, 1317, 1318, 1319, 1320, 1321, 1322, 1323, 1324, 1325, 1326, 1327, 1328, 1329, 1330, 1331, 1332, 1333, 1334, 1335, 1336, 1337, 1338, 1339, 1340, 1341, 1342, 1343, 1344, 1345, 1346, 1347, 1348, 1349, 1350, 1351, 1352, 1353, 1354, 1355, 1356, 1357, 1358, 1359, 1360, 1361, 1362, 1363, 1364, 1365, 1366, 1367, 1368, 1369, 1370, 1371, 1372, 1373, 1374, 1375, 1376, 1377, 1378, 1379, 1380, 1381, 1382, 1383, 1384, 1385, 1386, 1387, 1388, 1389, 1390, 1391, 1392, 1393, 1394, 1395, 1396, 1397, 1398, 1399, 1400, 1401, 1402, 1403, 1404, 1405, 1406, 1407, 1408, 1409, 1410, 1411, 1412, 1413, 1414, 1415, 1416, 1417, 1418, 1419, 1420, 1421, 1422, 1423, 1424, 1425, 1426, 1427, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1431, 1432, 1433, 1434, 1435, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1442, 1443, 1444, 1445, 1446, 1447, 1448, 1449, 1450, 1451, 1452, 1453, 1454, 1455, 1456, 1457, 1458, 1459, 1460, 1461, 1462, 1463, 1464, 1465, 1466, 1467, 1468, 1469, 1470, 1471, 1472, 1473, 1474, 1475, 1476, 1477, 1478, 1479, 1480, 1481, 1482, 1483, 1484, 1485, 1486, 1487, 1488, 1489, 1490, 1491, 1492, 1493, 1494, 1495, 1496, 1497, 1498, 1499, 1500, 1501, 1502, 1503, 1504, 1505, 1506, 1507, 1508, 1509, 1510, 1511, 1512, 1513, 1514, 1515, 1516, 1517, 1518, 1519, 1520, 1521, 1522, 1523, 1524, 1525, 1526, 1527, 1528, 1529, 1530, 1531, 1532, 1533, 1534, 1535, 1536, 1537, 1538, 1539, 1540, 1541, 1542, 1543, 1544, 1545, 1546, 1547, 1548, 1549, 1550, 1551, 1552, 1553, 1554, 1555, 1556, 1557, 1558, 1559, 1560, 1561, 1562, 1563, 1564, 1565, 1566, 1567, 1568, 1569, 1570, 1571, 1572, 1573, 1574, 1575, 1576, 1577, 1578, 1579, 1580, 1581, 1582, 1583, 1584, 1585, 1586, 1587, 1588, 1589, 1590, 1591, 1592, 1593, 1594, 1595, 1596, 1597, 1598, 1599, 1600, 1601, 1602, 1603, 1604, 1605, 1606, 1607, 1608, 1609, 1610, 1611, 1612, 1613, 1614, 1615, 1616, 1617, 1618, 1619, 1620, 1621, 1622, 1623, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1627, 1628, 1629, 1630, 1631, 1632, 1633, 1634, 1635, 1636, 1637, 1638, 1639, 1640, 1641, 1642, 1643, 1644, 1645, 1646, 1647, 1648, 1649, 1650, 1651, 1652, 1653, 1654, 1655, 1656, 1657, 1658, 1659, 1660, 1661, 1662, 1663, 1664, 1665, 1666, 1667, 1668, 1669, 1670, 1671, 1672, 1673, 1674, 1675, 1676, 1677, 1678, 1679, 1680, 1681, 1682, 1683, 1684, 1685, 1686, 1687, 1688, 1689, 1690, 1691, 1692, 1693, 1694, 1695, 1696, 1697, 1698, 1699, 1700, 1701, 1702, 1703, 1704, 1705, 1706, 1707, 1708, 1709, 1710, 1711, 1712, 1713, 1714, 1715, 1716, 1717, 1718, 1719, 1720, 1721, 1722, 1723, 1724, 1725, 1726, 1727, 1728, 1729, 1730, 1731, 1732, 1733, 1734, 1735, 1736, 1737, 1738, 1739, 1740, 1741, 1742, 1743, 1744, 1745, 1746, 1747, 1748, 1749, 1750, 1751, 1752, 1753, 1754, 1755, 1756, 1757, 1758, 1759, 1760, 1761, 1762, 1763, 1764, 1765, 1766, 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, 1773, 1774,